



SELECT ESSAYS

FROM THE

ENCYCLOPEDIA.



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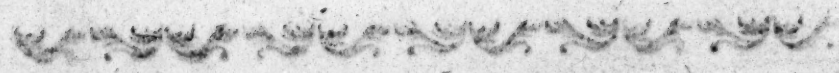
K. Diderot (D.) and A. L. M. (L.)

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FROM THE

ENCYCLOPEDIA



+ SELECT *Vol 11. 2.*
E S S A Y S
FROM THE
E N C Y C L O P E D I A,

B E I N G

THE MOST CURIOUS, ENTERTAINING,
AND INSTRUCTIVE PARTS

O F

THAT VERY EXTENSIVE WORK,

WRITTEN BY

MALLET, DIDEROT, D'ALEMBERT,

A N D

OTHERS, the Most Celebrated WRITERS of the AGE.

Eliza Pinard

L O N D O N,

Printed for SAMUEL LEACROFT, opposite to Spring-
Gardens, Charing-Cross.

M,DCC,LXXII.

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ESSAYS
FROM THE
ENCYCLOPEDIA

BEING
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AND INSTRUCTIVE PARTS
OF
THAT VERY EXTENSIVE WORK

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MALLET, DIDNOT, D'ALEMBERT
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Printed for Gutter Brackets, opposite to Spring-
Garden, Church-Cross.
MDCCLXXII.

The FRENCH COMPILER'S

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE PUBLIC.

IN that amazing multitude of articles with which the celebrated Dictionary, known by the title of ENCYCLOPÆDY, abounds, a great number of them cannot be read or understood but by a few persons conversant with the more abstruse sciences: others were intended only for being occasionally consulted, but never to be the objects of a continued reading, or particular study: several indeed are within the reach of all capacities that have had any share of cultivation, and are to be considered as so many complete essays, or short treatises, wherein are centred all the powers of wit, taste, elegance, solid philosophy, judicious

criticism, polished erudition, and every thing that can contribute to render such performances instructive and interesting.

This, however, is not the proper place for entering into a particular scrutiny, whether so great an undertaking hath been executed in a manner that completely answers the end which the authors of the work had originally proposed to themselves, or whether it has attained the utmost perfection of which it is capable. Let it suffice at present to aver, that it is enriched with a great variety of ingenious tracts, which being judiciously selected must form a most valuable collection, the more likely to be of general benefit, as the acquisition can be made on very moderate terms.

There are but few persons who can afford to purchase the Encyclopedy: and even those who are equal to the expence, will find it a very hard matter now to come at one, the edition being almost out of print.

This great scarcity was one of the chief motives that induced us to proceed, in favour of the public, to select from the Encyclopedy, and to publish in a small compass, its most exquisite articles, thereby to facilitate a perusal of them, not only to those persons that without the advantage of such an epitome must remain excluded

from that instruction which they may now reap; but even to the more wealthy possessors of the whole, by saving the irksome toil of seeking them amidst a crowd of far less interesting subjects. Moreover, the difficulty of conveying from one place to another such huge volumes in folio, must on many occasions prevent recourse being had to them.

It has been thought proper to give a table of the *selected Essays*, with the names of the several celebrated authors who had declared themselves; which displays a satisfactory view of what this volume contains. So pleasingly diversified an assemblage exhibits a very entertaining picture, wherein every curious reader may make an immediate choice of what shall appear the most alluring, and best agree with his own peculiar taste; although it may upon the whole be asserted, that there is not perhaps an article, or essay, to be found in this compilation, but what must prove amusing to the generality of judicious and tasteful readers.

The reason then is obvious, that, according to the plan proposed, as no room can be given to confined tracts upon mechanical arts, trades, abstruse sciences, or dry grammatical discussions; so neither can astronomy, geometry, medicine, surgery, jurisprudence, theology, chymistry, geography, &c.

find any place here, because the chief and sole intent is to limit this publication to essays philosophical, moral, gallant, political, and literary; which therefore is to be looked upon as *the spirit of the Encyclopedy; or a selection of the most interesting, curious, and entertaining, as well as the most philosophical articles to be met with in that vast and justly celebrated Dictionary; those pieces only having been extracted, which seemed calculated to give general satisfaction, and to suit the taste of every reader, especially those of a more polished education.*

In regard to those articles discovered to be offensive to religion, morality, and consequently to the welfare of society in general, we thought it our duty cautiously to abstain from meddling in any shape therewith; inasmuch as the prohibitory censure with which they had been stigmatized, has from time to time suppressed the continuation of the *ENCYCLOPÉDY's* being published.

Nor is the want of them to be regretted, for the very good reasons, that they are the worst written and least entertaining essays of the whole, and that moreover the compiler's view was to prove useful, not hurtful, to mankind: wherefore, as all virtuously disposed men should, they have steered clear of every subject that, instead of meliorating the heart, and cultivating the mind, tended to deprave the former, and mislead the latter.

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SELECT ESSAYS FROM THE ENCYCLOPEDIA.

THE ACADEMICS

WERE a sect of philosophers, who followed the doctrine of Socrates and Plato, concerning the uncertainty of human knowledge, and the incomprehensibility of truth. The word *Academic*, in this sense, signifies pretty nearly the same thing as *Platonist*, there being no other difference between them, than the periods of their commencement. Those among the ancients, who had embraced the system of Plato, were called *Academici*, Academics; but those who have adopted the same opinion, since the revival of letters, assumed the name of *Platonists*.

It may be asserted, that Socrates and Plato, who laid the first foundations of the academy, did not advance it to such a degree, as their successors; namely, Arcefilaus, Carneades, Clitomachus, and Philo. Socrates, it is true, made open profession that he knew nothing; but this doubt of his regarded only physics, which, he having cultivated at first, was afterwards induced to think to be above the reach of human intellects: and although he sometimes spoke in the style of the Sceptics, it was rather through irony, or modesty, in order to humble the vanity of the Sophists, who foolishly boasted themselves to be ignorant of nothing, and that they were always ready to discourse upon any subject.

Plato, the father and institutor of the academy, was trained up by Socrates in the art of doubting; and owning himself to be his follower, adhered to his manner of treating subjects. He rose up in opposition to all the philosophers who had preceded him: but, in recommending to his disciples a diffidence and doubting in all matters, he meant less to leave them in a state of suspense, fluctuating between truth and error, than to put them on their guard against forming too rash and too precipitate opinions, to which the impetuosity of youth is but too prone; and so to dispose their minds as that they should be furnished with a cautionary reserve against any surprise from the side of error, by forming such impartial examinations of every subject, as to appear free from the least tincture of prejudice.

Arcefilaus undertook to reform the ancient

academy, and to institute a new one. It is said he imitated Pyrrho, and had conferences with Timon; whence that philosophical epoch was enriched with Pyrrho's art of doubting, and Plato's elegant erudition, further strengthened with the dialectic art of Diodorus; which made Aristo compare him to the chimera, that, according to the verse of Homer, (facetiously applied on this occasion) was, in the fore part, a lion; in the hind part, a dragon; in the middle, a goat: thus, according to Aristo's notion, Arcefilaus was Plato in the fore part, Pyrrho in the hind, and Diodorus in the middle; and for this reason he is ranked among the Sceptics: moreover, Sextus Empiricus asserts, there is very little difference between his sect, which is the Sceptic, and that of Arcefilaus, the same as the new academy.

His doctrine was, that we are not certain, even of our knowing any thing, because nature hath established no standard of truth; and that our senses, with their result, the human understanding, are incomprehensive of truth, seeing that in all things there are reasons for and against, of equal force; and that the whole system of being is so covered with darkness, that it should make us hesitate to give our assent to any proposition. Such tenets were by no means relished, because their tendency was to extinguish every spark of science, whelm the intellectual principle in darkness, and overturn the very foundations of philosophy. Lacydes was the only partisan who stood up in the defence of Arcefilaus's doctrine. He transmitted it to Evander, as well as to

many others who had been disciples of his: Evander transmitted it to Hegesines, and Hegesines to Carneades.

However, Carneades did not minutely follow in all things the doctrine of Arcefilaus, although he adhered to it in the gross, and espoused the summary of its leading points. He was upon this account deemed the author of a new academy, called the Third. Without ever letting his own real sentiments be known, he combated, with great sagacity and eloquence, against all opinions that were proposed to him. What contributed to his thus excelling in philosophy, was his having been endowed by nature with a wonderful penetration of mind, with a great fluency of speech, joined to a long practice in the dialectic art. Carneades was the first, who made victorious Rome feel the power of eloquence, and the merit of philosophy. No wonder then, that the flourishing youth of an ambitious people, then big with the idea of obtaining the empire of the world, were strongly attracted by the novelty and excellence of this new science, communicated to them by Carneades; whom they followed to such a degree of eagerness, as alarmed Cato, a man otherwise of excellent judgement, but rude, and somewhat savage, from not having that politeness which the study of literature gives: and through a surmise of unknown danger lurking in this new kind of erudition, whose energy commanded persuasion as it pleased, he gave his opinion in the senate, that the request should be granted to Carneades, and the deputies accompanying him;

and that they should forthwith be sent away, but with honour.

So insinuating was his eloquence, that he triumphed with it over all doctrine in opposition, so far as to confound even reason herself; and hence always appeared invincible in those opinions which he maintained. The Stoics, though a disputative tribe, and subtle in argument, in their frequent contentions with Carneades and Arcefilaus, declared it was with difficulty that they could be disentangled from the perplexing snares, which had been thrown out for them: but, in order to take off from their adversary's fame on such occasions, they asserted Carneades had advanced nothing new, or of his own invention, against them; for that he had collected all his objections from the books of the Stoic Chrysippus. This very Carneades, a man to whom Cicero allowed the faculty of refuting every one, struck to an accusation, in which his pride and self-love were so tenderly interested: nay, he modestly confessed, that he owed all his successful energy to Chrysippus; that without him he could have done nothing; and that he never entered the lists against Chrysippus, but armed with his own weapons.

The amendments made by Carneades in the doctrine of Arcefilaus were very slight. It is easy to reconcile the tenet of Arcefilaus, That no determinate truth is to be found in things, with that of Carneades, who did not deny but some determinate truth may be found in things, but that we have no rules by which it may be discriminated; because there are two sorts of

truth, the one called, *Truth of Existence*, the other called *the Truth of Judgement*, or reason*. It is now obvious, that these two propositions of Arcefilaus and Carneades regard the truth of judgement: but then the truth of judgement is to be numbered among those relative things which are to be considered as having an immediate connection with, and dependance on, the mind: wherefore Arcefilaus's assertion, that there is no truth in things, means no more than that there is in things what the human mind cannot know with certainty; and Carneades equally maintained the same opinion.

Arcefilaus advanced, that nothing could be comprehended, and that all things were obscure. Carneades agreed that nothing could be comprehended in its totality; but did not for that agree, that all things were obscure, because the probable things, to which he would have mankind attach themselves, were not obscure, according to him. But then again, although there appear a difference in the expression, there is none as to the fact: for Arcefilaus maintained, that things are obscure but in the proportion that they are incomprehensible to us; but he did not deprive them of verisimilitude or probability. That too was the sentiment of Carneades, who, in saying that things were not sufficiently obscure, for our not being able to discern which ought to be preferred for the use and convenience of life, did not mean, that they were clear enough to be comprehended by us in their totality.

* The *Circulation of the Blood*, before HARVEY's time, was a *truth of Existence*; since, it became a *Truth of Judgement*.

It follows now, from what has preceded, that it was not from a difference of sentiment between these two philosophers, that Carneades allowed mankind to have opinions, and even sometimes to venture so far as to give their consent; or that Arcefilaus forbid both. Carneades meant only that a prudent man should make use but of probable things in life, without which there is no subsisting, but did not stretch it to the conduct of our intellects, in a research after truth; whence only Arcefilaus banished opinion and consent: all the difference then consisted in their expressions of, but not in the things themselves.

Philo, the disciple of Clitomachus, who had been so to Carneades, from having deviated, in certain points, from the last named philosopher, merited to be called, jointly with Charmides, the founder of the Fourth academy. He maintained, that things of themselves are comprehensible, but that we indeed cannot comprehend them.

Antiochus was the founder of the fifth academy. He had been a disciple of Philo for many years, and asserted the doctrine of Carneades: but in his old age he quitted the party of his masters, and brought back into the academy the tenets of Stoicism, which he attributed to Plato; affirming that the doctrine of the Stoics was not a new one, and only a reformation of the ancient academy. This fifth academy was nothing else, but an association of the ancient academy with the philosophy of the Stoics; or rather it was the true philosophy of the Stoics, habited

in the livery of the ancient academy; I mean, of that which flourished under Plato and Arcesilaus.

Some have pretended to argue, that there was but one academy; and they reason thus: 'As the several branches, which grow from one and the same trunk of a tree, and spread themselves out on every side, are not so many different trees; even so all those different sects, which have sprung up from the one only trunk of Socrates' doctrine, viz. *that man knows nothing*, although divided into different schools, are but one and the same academy: yet if we were to inspect more narrowly into the matter, we should find so great a difference between the ancient and the new academy, as that necessarily two academies must be allowed; the ancient, which was that of Socrates, and Antiochus; and the new, which was that of Arcesilaus, Carneades, and Philo. The former was dogmatic in some points, paid a due respect to the first principles of things, and to some moral truths: the latter inclined almost entirely to Scepticism.



ACADEMY.

THE first place so called among the ancients, was a garden, or a house, situated in the suburbs of Athens, one mile, or thereabouts, distant from that city; where Plato and his followers used to form their assemblies, in order to converse upon philoso-

phical subjects. And from this place of rendezvous the sect of Academics, treated of in the preceding article, took their name.

The denomination of Academy had been given to the garden, or the house, in allusion to the name of a citizen of Athens, called *Academus*, or *Ecademus*, who was the owner of it, and therein kept a kind of college: he was cotemporary with Theseus. Some have derived the name of Academy from *Cadmus*, who first brought letters and sciences from the Phenicians into Greece. But this etymology cannot be established, because in that infant state, as it were, they could have been but too weakly cultivated to produce numerous assemblies of learned men.

Cimon improved the academy, and ornamented it with fountains, trees, and walks, for the conveniency of the philosophers, and other literati, who repaired thither, in order to hold conferences, and debate upon various subjects. Here also were interred all illustrious personages, who had rendered great services to their country. But Sylla, in the siege of Athens, paid no regard to this *asylum* of the fine arts, nor to the trees consecrated to their philosophical walks, which he impiously cut down, and perverted into machines of war for battering the town.

Cicero had likewise a country house, or rural recess, near Puzzoli, to which he gave the name of Academy; where he used to converse with such of his friends, as had a relish for philosophical enquiries. It was there he composed the work entitled *Academical*

Questions, and his books upon the Nature of the Gods.

To recapitulate here, in a few words, what is said in the preceding article of the Academics: The word Academy, in its origin, specifically signified a sect of philosophers, who asserted, that truth is beyond the comprehension of human understanding, that all knowledge is uncertain, that the wise man ought always to doubt, and to keep his judgement in suspense, without ever daring to affirm, or to deny any thing positively; so that among the ancients reciprocally was meant by Academy the Academic Sect, as was, by Academics, the Academy.

In the general acceptation of the term, but three academies, or sects of academics, flourished; but, according to some, there were five. The eldest academy was that, of which Plato was the chief.

Arcefilaus, one of his successors, by introducing some changes and innovations into this sect, gave rise to what was called *the second Academy*; and it was he that chiefly propagated therein the doubt effective and universal.

The third academy, as may be seen more at large in the preceding article, owed its institution to Lacydes, and was moreover called *the new Academy*; allowing that there were not only many things probable, but that some were true, and some were false; denying at the same time, that the intellects of man could form a just discrimination between them.

As for the two other academies, not so universally adopted by the learned, the fourth is

said to have been founded by Philo, and the fifth by Antiochus; whence it was called the *Antiochæan*, and it allied the doctrine of the ancient academy with the tenets of Stoicism.

The ancient academy doubted of every thing, and pushed that principle so far, as even to doubt of her own absolute doubting. Its members held it as their constant maxim to be never certain, but to persevere, unsatisfied in their mind about the truth of any thing: therefore they never would assert or deny any thing, however true or false it might appear to them; because they had espoused the doctrine of an absolute acatalepsy, or incomprehensiveness concerning the nature and essence of things; and the only refuge left for man, was to doubt.

The pupils of the new academy were less obstinate; they acknowledged several things to be true, without rigorously adhering to them: for they had learned through experience how incompatible with the existence of society, and necessary commerce for the wants of life, must prove that universal and absolute doubt so much affected by the ancient academy. It is obvious, notwithstanding, that even those very articles, which they had adopted, they seemed to look upon rather as probable, than as irrefragably true, and as unquestionably certain; but by those trimming correctives, they thought as it were to shun the reproach of absurdity, with which the ancient academy had been stigmatized. We refer our readers, for farther information upon this subject, to Cicero's *Academic Questions*, where that in-

genious author refutes, with as much strength as elegance, the sentiments of the philosophers, cotemporary with him, who assumed to be sectaries of the ancient, and of the new academy. In the mean time, they may run over the preceding article of *Academics*, wherein the sentiments of all are sufficiently displayed, and compared one with the other.

ACADEMY, *among the moderns*, is commonly understood, a society, or company of literary gentlemen, formed for cultivating and promoting the arts, or sciences.

Some authors confound the term *Academy* with that of *University*; for although they are synonymous in the Latin, yet do they widely differ in the English, French, and other languages. An University, properly speaking, is a body composed of personages, graduated in the several faculties; professors, who teach in the public halls; preceptors, or private tutors; and students applying to their several tasks, in which, by acquitting themselves well, they hope to obtain, one day, the same degrees with those who now direct them. But, on the contrary, an Academy, in France, is not a place destined for teaching any particular art, or science; but to advance them, by the already learned therein, to their ultimate perfection. It consists not of pupils, instructed by persons more learned than themselves; but of persons blest with cultivated minds, who generously communicate their knowledge to each other, and all discoveries made for their mutual instruction, and benefit of the public.

The first academy, whose institution we know any thing of, was that founded by Charlemagne, through the advice of Alcuinus. It was composed of the most brilliant wits of the court; and that illustrious monarch did not disdain becoming a member of it: in their academical conferences, every one was obliged to give an account of the ancient authors which he had read. Nay, more, every academician affected to take the name of that ancient writer, who stood the highest in his favour; or of some celebrated character among the ancients, whom he most admired. And even Alcuinus, among others, from whose letters we have learned these particulars, assumed the name of Flaccus, which was the surname of Horace. A young lord, called Angilbert, took on him, that of Homer; Adelard, bishop of Corbio, would be called Augustin; Riculphus, archbishop of Mentz, Dametas; and the sovereign made his choice of David.

This fact rectifies a mistake, into which some moderns had given, insinuating it not to have been the prevailing taste of that age, among all those who professed themselves to be great admirers of Roman names; but it was in conformity thereto Alcuinus adopted that of Flaccus Albinus.

Every nation now almost, not even excepting Russia, has its academies; but Italy exceeds them all in number. There are but few in the English dominions: the one principally deserving our attention is that called the *Royal Society of London*. There is also a Society at Edinburgh.

The English have, besides, a royal academy of music, and one of painting; both established by letters patent; and each is governed by its particular directors.

In France there are flourishing academies in every kind; several in Paris, and some in provincial towns: but here follows a succinct, yet satisfactory account of the principal.

THE FRENCH ACADEMY was instituted, in the year 1635, by Cardinal de Richlieu, to perfect the language. Hence the chief objects of its application are poetical, grammatical, and rhetorical topics. Their form of proceeding, which is very simple, has never undergone any alteration. The number of members, constituting this body, are forty, and all upon an equal footing; for elevated and titled personages are admitted only as honorary men of letters: by which means, Cardinal de Richlieu, than whom nobody knew better the value which ought to be set on cultivated talents, intended that the learnedly ingenious should rank in an equal line with title and elevation.

This academy has a director, and a chancellor, eligible by lots every three months, and a secretary, who is perpetual. She always could, and now can reckon, among her members, several personages very eminent for their genius and productions. They meet three times a week during the whole year, namely, Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, at the Old Louvre. There are no other public assemblies, excepting when some new academician is admitted, and on the anniversary of Saint

Lewis's day: then the academy distributes her premiums, for the best pieces of poetry and eloquence on the subjects which she had given out: the proof of her approbation is a golden medal.

The result of her labours, in part, has been a Dictionary of the French language, which has already gone through four editions, with still increasing improvements, in order to render it as complete as possible. The motto of this academy, is---*To immortality.*

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS, OR BELLES LETTRES.---Notwithstanding the height of glory to which France had raised her name, in the auspicious reigns of Henry IV. Lewis XIII. but more so after the peace called the Pyrenean, and the marriage of Lewis XIV. no sufficient attention had been paid towards transmitting to posterity just ideas of those glorious and eventful times. The most brilliant actions, and most memorable deeds, were in imminent danger of being overlooked, or buried in oblivion, through the neglect of consecrating a remembrance of them to after-ages, on records of marble and brass. In that barren æra, but very few public monuments were to be seen; and even that scanty number had, for their execution, fallen to the hands of individuals, whose ignorance, and want of taste, disgraced the original intent.

The last mentioned monarch readily conceived what advantage must accrue to his subjects from the establishment of an academy, whose study should be to compose inscriptions,

and make out devices for medals, in such a manner, as that their chief merit should be a noble simplicity, the criterion of true taste. It was at first formed of but a few persons, chosen from among the members of the French academy; and they began their meetings in Mr. Colbert's library, through whose intermediation they received his Majesty's commands.

The days for their meeting were not absolutely determined; but in the winter season it was generally on Wednesdays, because the most commodious for Mr. Colbert, who seldom failed to be present: in the summer time, this minister invited them often to his fine seat and gardens at Sceaux, to render such conferences more agreeable to them, as well as more tranquil and satisfactory to himself.

One of their first cares was the inventing of designs for the king's tapestry; as may be seen in the collection of inscriptions and prints which hath been published.

The celebrated Mr. Perrault was afterwards charged in particular with making a description of the Caroussel, which after having undergone the company's examination, was also printed, with cuts.

What they next set about, was composing devices for the Royal Treasury; the places, and offices which escheat to the king; the public buildings, the department of the marine, &c. Each year produced a series of new ones.

At length a resolution was taken, by the means of medals, to make a continued history of the principal transactions during that monarch's reign. The theme was ample, and

magnificent, but difficult to carry happily into execution; because the ancients, from whom several medals are transmitted to us, have left no other rules to proceed by, than a mere inspection of them; and till that period they were sought for but on account of the beauty of their workmanship, or of some historical illustration that might be thence derived. And as for those moderns who had struck out a great many during the two preceding centuries, they indeed troubled their heads but very little about rules: they neither followed, nor laid down any. In the collections we have of them, there can scarcely be found three or four pieces, where genius luckily supplies the want of method.

The difficulty there was found to attain perfection speedily, in an art which had been so much neglected, was not the only reason that hindered this academy's making a more rapid progress by medals in the king's history under Mr. Colbert: no, another was his frequently applying the company's talents to a thousand other objects; such as inventing and examining designs for the pictures and statues, with which Versailles was to be ornamented. Their choice and determination were decisive; for even to their scrutinizing arbitration were submitted all decorating proposals for the apartments, as well as embellishing for the gardens.

This academy was moreover charged with having engraved, under its inspection, the plans and principal views of all the royal palaces, with a description of each annexed thereto. The engravings were very far advanced, and

the inscriptions almost finished, when Mr. Colbert died.

It was also proposed to have engraved the plans and views of the several conquered places, and to annex the particular history of each place, and of its conquest: but this project, like the former, miscarried.

Mr. Colbert's death happened in the year 1683, and Mr. de Louvois succeeded him in the place of superintendant of the royal buildings. This new minister having learned that Abbé Tallemant was charged with the care of the inscriptions, to be placed under the pictures in the gallery of Versailles, and which were to be displayed there at the king's return, sent for him to Fontainebleau, where the court resided at that time, to be particularly informed concerning each article. Abbé Tallemant repaired thither, gave him an exact account, and shewed that the inscriptions were then almost finished: Mr. de Louvois presented him to the king, who ordered him in person to repair forthwith to Versailles, and there to see them put up. They have since undergone various alterations.

Mr. de Louvois held at first several meetings of this *little academy* at his own house, in town or country, at Paris or Meudon: *little* we call it, because it consisted but of few persons; namely, Mr. Charpentier, Mr. Guinaut, Abbé Tallemant, and Mr. Felibien the father.

He afterwards fixed their meetings at the Louvre, in the same place where are held those of the French academy; and had an order esta-

blished for their assembling twice a week, on Monday and Saturday, from five o'clock in the afternoon to seven.

Mr. de la Chapelle, become comptroller of the buildings since Mr. Perrault's decease, was directed to attend those assemblies, to take down in writing their proceedings; whereby he became the fifth academician. Soon after Mr. de Louvois added two more, whose assistance he thought very necessary towards carrying on with eclat the history of that grand monarch; they were Messieurs Racine and Despreaux. Finally an eighth was added, Mr. Rainsaut, a gentleman completely skilled in the knowledge of medals, and who had been entrusted with the care and direction of his majesty's cabinet of antiquities.

Under the new minister, the members applied themselves with renovated zeal to continue the king's history in medals; which undertaking had been interrupted during the last years of Colbert's administration. Several were struck, and of different sizes; but were, for the most part, much larger than those which have been struck since: whence they are even now called *the Medals for the great History*. These gentlemen began also the task of making commemorative coins, to celebrate the ordinary and extraordinary events of war: a work which they had not been consulted on before.

In the year 1691, the king gave the department of the academies to Mr. de Pontchartrain, then comptroller general, and secretary of state, who had besides the department of the

king's household, and became since the chancellor of France. Being gifted by nature with fine mental abilities, and a taste for literature, which the avocations of more serious employments could never damp; he paid a particular attention to *the little Academy*, that soon became more known under the denomination of *The Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Medals*. He desired his son, the Count de Pontchartrain, frequently to attend their assemblies, which he thenceforward fixed on the Tuesdays and Saturdays. He appointed, for inspector of the company, his nephew Abbé Bignon, already eminent in the literary world for his genius and talents.

The places vacant by the deceased Mr. Rainfaut, and Mr. Quinault, were filled up by Mr. de Toureil, and Abbé Renaudot.

All the medals, whose designs had been concluded on in the time of Mr. de Louvois, as well as those that had been already finished and engraved, were carefully revised; many were reformed, and a great number added. They were all reduced to an equal size, and the king's history was continued to that memorable event of his grandson the duke of Anjou's being raised to the Spanish throne.

In the month of September, 1669, Mr. de Pontchartrain being appointed chancellor of France, his son the count entered into the full exercise of the office of secretary of state, of which high charge he had long a grant of the survivorship. The academies remained in his department. But the chancellor, who had the history of medals very much at heart, and of which the

progress was in a great measure owing to his instructions and guidance, reserved to himself the inspection of that favourite work. He had the honour of presenting to the king the first series struck, with the first copies of the book which contained their designs, and the explanations thereof.

The establishment of the Academy of Inscriptions could not be omitted in this famous performance, in which none of the other academies was forgotten. On the medal struck for her, was represented a Mercury sitting, and writing with a stylus, in the manner of the ancients, upon a table of brass: his left arm was resting on an urn filled with medals, and others lay ranged in a cartoon at his feet; the legend, *Rerum gestarum fides*; and the exergue, *Academia Regia Inscriptionum & Numismatum instituta* M.DC.LXIII. which signifies, "The Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Médals, established in the year 1663, must transmit to future ages a faithful account of the great events happened in Lewis the XIVth's reign."

The academy's occupation threatening to expire with the completion of the book of medals, because the farther demand of new coins and devices for celebrating the events of each year, could not afford sufficient business for employing eight or nine persons, who met twice a week, Abbé Bignon, from a foresight of an approaching state of inactivity, be-thought him how to derive some advantage to the corps from it. But that no obstacle might arise to the plan, by him conceived, from his brother members, who might be alarmed at

the least hint of a change, he concealed it in part from them; and only observed, that the history carried on by medals being finished, nay in the press; and moreover, as the king had declared the highest satisfaction at all he had seen of it, a better opportunity could not be chosen of applying to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to give a solid establishment to the academy, by some public act, under the sanction of royal authority.

To enforce his opinion, he quoted to them the example of the Academy of Sciences, which, though founded but a little time after the Academy of Inscriptions, by order of the king only, without any authenticated title for its establishment, had just at that time (as we shall see hereafter) obtained from the sovereign a regulation signed by his hand, which determined its various occupations, and confirmed to it the several pensions, &c.

Abbé Bignon's proposal being highly relished by all the members, a memorial was immediately drawn up, and the Pontchartrains, father and son, were prayed to support it with their interest, which they did, being made thoroughly acquainted with Abbé Bignon's plan, and being also zealous patrons of literary merit. The academy's petition was granted by the king, and in a few days after the members were honoured with a new regulation, bearing date July 16, 1701.

In consequence of this new regulation the academy was to receive the king's orders from one of the secretaries of state, the same who gives them to that of Sciences. This aca-

demy is composed of ten honorary members, ten pensionary, ten associated, having each a deliberative voice; besides ten pupils, one attached to every pensionary member. They are to assemble on the Tuesdays and Fridays of every week, in a salon of the Louvre: they have two public meetings annually, one after St. Martin's day, the other after the Easter holidays.

Their vacation is the same with that of the Academy of Sciences. This academy hath associated correspondents, natives, and foreigners; and like to the academy of Sciences hath a president, and a vice-president, chosen from among the honorary members; with a director, and a sub-director, chosen from among the pensionary members.

The class of pupils hath been suppressed and united to the associates: the secretary and treasurer are perpetual. This academy, since its revival in 1701, has enriched the public with several volumes of its lucubrations, containing, besides those essays which it has been thought proper to publish entire, extracts of others, by their secretary, with eulogiums on the deceased members.

The president, Mr. Durey de Noinville, hath some years since founded a literary premium to be disposed of by the academicians to the most deserving: it consists of a golden medal, worth 400. livres.---The motto of this academy is---*Vetat mori*, "She forbids to die."

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES was established in the year 1666, by the care of

Mr. Colbert. Lewis the XIVth, after the Pyrenean peace, impelled by a noble desire of making literature, arts, and sciences, flourish in his dominion, commissioned Mr. Colbert to form a society of learned and chosen persons for each department, whose meetings should have the sanction of royalty, in order that they would communicate to each other the new discoveries, as well as the progressive advances they then had made, or for the future they might make.

Mr. Colbert, having conferred on that subject with the most learned and eminent of his time, entered into the resolution of instituting a society, composed of persons skilled in physics and mathematics, to whom should be added others, thoroughly acquainted with history, and all matters of erudition; and finally, some to be solely occupied about what is particularly called *Belles Lettres*, which imply grammar, eloquence, and poetry.

The skilled in geometry and physics, belonging to this body, were to have a separate meeting every Wednesday; but the whole to assemble every Saturday in a salon of the king's library, wherein were lodged all books relating to physics and mathematics. The learned in history met on Mondays and Thursdays in the salon, where all historical works were kept. The *Belles-Lettres* class met on Tuesdays and Fridays. But on the first Thursday of every month, according to the regulation given, the several classes were to have a bodily meeting to communicate to each other,

through their secretaries, their respective transactions in the preceding month.

It was impossible that so multifarious an academy could subsist long, for many reasons: 1st, The topics of profane history, being often so closely connected with those of ecclesiastic history, consequently with christian theology, and the discipline of the church, it was feared the academicians might be so far adventurous, as to emancipate themselves, and debate upon subjects so delicate in their nature, that they could not fail of causing trouble in the end. 2d. Those who formed the *Belles-Lettres* class, belonging mostly to the *French Academy*, whose pursuit was nearly the same as what they were now appointed for, and actuated besides with a warm zeal for their own ancient academy, prayed Mr. Colbert to shew the same mark of beneficence to her, as he did to the new one; observing to him, at the same time, the inutility of two different academies, employed about the like object, and consisting almost of the same persons.

Mr. Colbert felt the validity of their reasons; and soon after, on the death of Chancellor Seguier, the king took under his protection the *French Academy*, to which the *Belles-Lettres* class, we have lately made mention of, was supposed to be united, and likewise *the little Academy* for history; so that there remained in this, we are specially treating of here, but the physical and mathematical classes. The latter was composed of messieurs Carreaux, Huyghens, de Roberval, Frenicle, Auzout, Picard, and Buot. The former consisted of messieurs de

la Chambre, one of the king's physicians; Perrault, a man of vast erudition in physics and natural history; Duclos, and Bourdelin, chymists; Pequet, and Gayen, anatomists; Marchanel, botanist; and Duhamel, secretary.

These truly learned men, as well as their successors, published several works for the promoting of human knowledge. In the years 1692 and 1693, this academy published, month after month, a collection of the fugitive pieces read at their assemblies in those two years, on account of their being too short to be printed separately, and their being quite unconnected with the works upon which the respective members were then particularly employed. Several of these first academicians received considerable pensions from the king: a perfect equality was observed among them, as was among those of the French Academy.

In 1699, Abbé Bignon, who had presided for a long time over the Academy of Sciences, imagined he should prove highly serviceable, by new modelling it: he communicated the plan to his uncle, then chancellor de Pontchartrain, who approved of it; and consequently, at the beginning of that year, the academy received a new regulation that changed its form entirely, and of which the following are the principal articles.

I. The Academy of Sciences is to be immediately under the protection of the king, and to receive its directions from such of the secretaries of state, as it shall please his majesty to communicate his intentions to.

II. The academy is to consist of ten hono-

rary members, one to be president; of twenty pensioners, three geométricians, three astronomers, three mechanists, three anatomists, three botanists, three chymists; of a treasurer, and a secretary, the two last perpetual; with twenty associates, viz. twelve natives or residentiaries in France, of whom two are geométricians, two astronomers, &c. and eight foreigners; besides twenty pupils, one of whom is attached to one of the pensionary academicians.

III. The honorary and pensionary academicians only have a deliberative voice in the election of members, or concerning the affairs of the academy. When scientific matters are the objects of debate, then the associates are joined. But the pupils can never speak, unless encouraged thereto by the president.

IV. The honorary members ought to be *regnicolæ*, strangers resident in the country, and respectable for their knowledge in mathematics and physics; and the regular clergy, or those bound by religious vows, may be admitted into this class.

V. No person can be admitted as a pensionary member, but in consequence of some considerable work, some important discovery, or some brilliant course of lectures.

VI. Every pensionary academician is to declare, at the beginning of the year, the work he intends to proceed upon: independently of which undertaking, not only the pensionary academicians, but the associated, also are to bring occasional observations or memoirs upon different subjects. Their times of meeting in

each week are to be Wednesdays and Saturdays, and, in case of a church festival falling on either, to be held on the preceding day.

VII. There are two of those assemblies open to the public in each year; to wit, the first, after St. Martin's day; and the second, after the Easter holidays.

VIII. This academy's vacations are a week before, and a week after Easter Sunday; Whitsuntide week; and from Christmas day to that of kings.

In 1716, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, thought proper to make some changes in this regulation, under the king's authority: the class of pupils was suppressed. It seemed to labour under some inconveniencies, by keeping up too great an *inequality* among the academicians, and thereby liable to occasion, as had really been the case, expressions of harshness and contempt.

This distinction deterred several persons of acknowledged merit from being desirous of admittance into the academy; notwithstanding Mr. Fontenelle had declared, in one of his eulogiums, that the term of Pupil implied no difference of merit, and alluded only to a priority of admission, and a prescriptive right of survivorship; but some academicians had died, at seventy, Pupils; a grating sound to veteran ears.

The class of pupils was therefore suppressed, and in their place were substituted twelve adjuncts; to whom, as well as to the associates, the privilege of a deliberative voice in matters of science was granted.

The number of honorary members was limited to twelve. A class of free associates, in number six, was also created: they are tied down to no particular kind of science or application. A resolution also was made, that thenceforwards the regular clergy could be admitted only into this class.

The king names for this academy, every year, a president, a vice-president, a chief director, and a sub-director. The two former are always named from among the honorary members; and the two latter from among the pensionary, who only are entitled to have counters, or *jettons*, for their being present at the assemblies. No academician can prefix this title to the frontispiece of a book, without having previously obtained the academy's approbation and leave.

From this reformation in the year 1699, the academy has been very careful to publish, each year, a volume containing the serious works of their members, or less important memoirs, or essays, which may have been read in the academy during the run of the year. At the head of each volume is prefixed the progressive history of the academy, or an extract of the memoirs, and in general of whatever had been read or debated in the academy; and at the end of the history are the eulogiums of the academicians who had died within the year.

The place of secretary was filled by Mr. de Fontenelle from the year 1699 to 1740. Mr. de Mairan succeeded to him, during the

years 1741, 1742, 1743; and it is now occupied by Mr. de Fourchy, 1768.

The late Mr. Remillé de Messay, counsellor in the parliament of Paris, has founded two premiums, which are alternately distributed each year by the academy. The subjects of the one must relate to physical astronomy, and those of the other to navigation and commerce.

The device of this academy is, *Invenit & perficit*. The assemblies of this corps, which had been formerly held in the king's library, have, since the year 1699, been continued in a beautiful salon of the old Louvre.

In the year 1713, the king confirmed, by letters patent, the establishment of the two academies, viz. of Sciences, and of *Belles Lettres*.

Besides the academies of the capital, there are a great many in the provinces. That of *Les jeux floraux*, "Ludi florales," at Toulouse, is composed of forty persons, and is the oldest in the kingdom; which city hath also an academy of Sciences, and Belles Lettres. At Montpellier there is a royal society for the sciences, which, since the year 1706, forms but one undistinguished body with that of Paris. There are also academies at Bourdeaux, at Soissons, at Marseilles, at Lyons, at Pau, at Montauban, at Angers, at Amiens, at Ville Franche, at Chalons sur Marne, at Auxerres, at Caen, at Rouen, at Nancy, at La Rochelle, at Dijon, at Benfançon, &c.

The number of academies daily increases throughout the kingdom. Now, without entering into any discussion, whether the multiply-

ing of such establishments be advantageous to a people, or not; it must be acknowledged, that they contribute very much to the diffusing and preserving a taste for studying the arts and sciences. And, even in those cities where there are no academies by institution, there are voluntary meetings of the literati, who occupy themselves pretty nearly in the same manner and exercises.



CONJUGAL INFIDELITY.

IT were needless to debate at this time, whether adultery be a crime that disgraces society or not. Upon the very starting of such a question, every body feels an immediate conviction in the affirmative; and those persons only would enter into a dispute about it, who are fond of having their ears tickled with the quibbling sophistry of self-love.

But there is another question much more worthy of being attended to, the solution whereof necessarily implies that of the former; and that, is to determine which of the two criminals does most harm to society; he who debauches another man's wife; or he who lives in habitual libertinism with the sex, and, by declining the state of wedlock, is regardless of lawfully begetting subjects for the commonwealth.

The general sense of mankind declares, that next to homicide, adultery, of all other crimes, deserves to be the most severely punished; be-

cause it is one of the most cruel robberies, which can be committed by one man against another, and is of so outrageous a nature, as to occasion murder, and the most horrible deeds, to revenge such an unpardonable and atrocious injury.

Although the other kind of unlawful connexion between two persons, may not commonly give occasion to such acts of violence as conjugal infidelity does, and the evil consequences thence arising may not be so apparent, yet are they not less real; and though held in a less degree of enormity, are more effectually prejudicial to the state.

Adultery is the union of two corrupted hearts, estranged from all sense of justice, and that ought to be mutual objects of horror to each other, as two robbers hold each other in reciprocal contempt for their practical infamy. Adultery proves extremely prejudicial to the children who are thence derived, because no act of maternal tenderness is to be expected for them, from a vicious mother, that beholds in them objects of constant anxiety, and stinging reproach for her conjugal infidelity; wherefore she takes no care to form their manners, or train them up in the paths of virtue; being alienated from the dictates of innocence.

However culpable such enormities be, yet, while kept a secret, society suffers apparently but little; because the children are bred up, and receive exteriorly the same liberal education, with those of legitimate procreation.

But in general quite different are the effects from occasional and transitory connexions,

bound to each other by no lawful tie. The intense pleasure, with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless the marriage state, was in order to promote the generation of the human species; and the intent of Providence is not eluded when this stimulating pleasure is enjoyed in the nuptial bed only: but the ruin of human fertility, and the becoming a criminal object in society, are the inevitable effects of unauthorised intimacy between the sexes.

The defeating of human propagation is thus effectuated: women who prostitute themselves, disclaim all sense of duty; abhor the very name of Mother, to the attainment of which title they so often expose themselves; and when they are surprised by a state of pregnancy, there is nothing they dread so much to see, as the fruit of their illicit amours. With detestation they behold its arrival into the world; to which such unnatural parents, for the most part, think the unhappy babe has no right---Nay, to prevent it, destructive remedies have been often employed; and on their failing, the devoted helpless victim is murdered, for daring to behold the light; or left naked and forsaken in the street, to the charity of the first comer.

From wretches thus exposed at their coming into the world, and afterwards to all the debasing capriciousness of fortune, is formed a motley groupe of unavowed banditti, without education, possession, profession, or claim whatsoever in the nation. Moreover, the abandoned state of uncontrouled freedom, in which they have grown up, unavoidably leaves them unprincipled, and aliens from any notion

of regularity or discretion: whence they often become desperadoes, and perpetrate most execrable acts to revenge themselves on a society, in which they have no rank, concern, or estimation, but universal contempt for their wretched inheritance.

The least of evils subsequent to illegitimacy, is not that it scatters through the realm unfortunate existences, disavowed by all; but that they commonly die without having been able to contribute to the good of the community, by begetting lawful children, * from the general aversion to marry a bastard.

This naturally leads us to another topic, which is, to declare, that nothing can be more opposite to the well being and increase of society, than the celibacy, or the leading of a single life, which is so much cried up by those maxims of false philosophy to be heard at every rendezvous, and that are totally subversive of the moral system.

We allude not here in the least to that salutary institution of the church, by which was meant that the lives of the clergy might become more edifying and profitable to others, and that what they refused to themselves they should recommend to all ranks of the laity, to wit, the happiness and dignity of the nuptial union for the cementing of a virtuous and honourable society; wherein they employ all their study, care, and attention, to rear, educate, and defend, the children of Faith, against the tenets of that pseudo-moral philosophy, now

* In France, and other countries.

so prevalent, and to whose wicked tenets so many have abandoned themselves.

The ancient Romans had no formal law against adultery; the accusation and punishment in that case were arbitrary. The emperor Augustus was the first who instituted one, and had the misfortune of seeing its first execution in his own family. It was called the *Lex Julia*, and sentenced the delinquents to death. But although, in consequence of this law, the accusation of the crime of adultery became of public notoriety, and was allowed to all persons; let it be observed that adultery hath always been considered as a crime of a domestic and private nature, rather than as one of a public concern; and that therefore strangers to the family were seldom allowed to prosecute for judiciary punishment, if the married couple lived peaceably together, and the husband had urged no cause of complaint to the proper tribunal.

And for this reason some of the succeeding emperors abrogated entirely that part of the law, which allowed strangers to the family to interfere in an accusation of adultery; because such a prosecution could not be commenced without sowing the seeds of division and jealousy in the minds of the husband and wife; nay, more, without throwing the birthright of the children into uncertainty; and, finally, without making the husband an object of laughter, and contempt: for the husband being the person principally interested to examine into the conduct of his wife, it is to be supposed he does it with more circumspection than any other per-

son; and that therefore, when he holds his tongue, no body else has a right to speak.

The law therefore, in certain cases, established the husband judge; investing him also with an executive power in his own cause, and a permission of avenging himself for the injury done to his honour, on finding the culprits in the act of shame. It was also ordered by the same law, that if a husband should be known to make an infamous traffick of his wife's person, or that he were any way conniving at, or conscious of her leading a dissolute life, but at the same time dissembled an ignorance of her turpitude, in such cases the adultery became a crime of public notoriety: then strangers to the family might commence a legal prosecution, and, according to the *Lex Julia*, both husband and wife were punished.

In most of the European nations, at present, conjugal infidelity is not looked upon as a crime of public concern: and therefore the husband is the only person who has a right to accuse the wife; nor can the power of the state interfere, but in cases of very enormous scandal*.

Although a husband, who violates conjugal fidelity, be a delinquent, as well as the wife who does the same, yet she is not allowed to accuse, or carry on a suit against him for that crime.

Socrates (not the famous Grecian philosopher) relates, that under the Emperor Theodosius, in the year 380, a woman convicted of adultery was, in punishment for her crime, ex-

• That is in France, but not in England.

posed to the brutal attacks of whosoever would chuse to commit an act of lustful violence upon her.

Lycurgus inflicted the same punishment upon adulterers, as on paricides: the Locrians put out their eyes; and in most of the oriental nations, this crime is punished with the utmost severity.

The ancient Saxons condemned to the flames a woman caught in adultery; and from the midst of her ashes a gibbet was erected, and thereon the accomplice of her crime was executed. In England, according to the *Lex Edmundi*, adultery was punished in the same manner as murder; which became changed into the banishment of the male offender, and cutting off the nose and ears of the female.

In Spain it was the custom to cut off the parts which had been instrumental in committing the crime.

In Poland, before the establishment of christianity, the males guilty of adultery and fornication were punished in a very extraordinary manner. Being conducted to the public place appointed for executions, there they were made fast to a hook by the testicles; and razors were left near them, that when necessitated by the agony they endured in such a situation, they might mutilate themselves, in order to get free, unless they rather chose to perish in that horrible plight.

The civil law reformed by Justinian, through the remonstrances of his consort Theodora, moderated the rigor of the *Lex*.

Julia, ordering that an adulteress should be whipt, and shut up in a convent for two years; but if, during that time, the husband were not to relent, or shew any inclination of taking her home again, then her hair was sentenced to be cut off, and she to remain a close prisoner for life; and this was called the *Lex authentica* in regard to conjugal infidelity, it being the new one, containing the reformed disposition of the old, relative to this heinous offence.

The laws against adultery are much mitigated at present: all the punishment inflicted on an adulteress, is to deprive her of her dowry, with the benefit of all marriage articles, and to send her to a convent. It is no longer the custom to whip such a criminal, lest that public ignominy might prevent a husband, otherwise relentingly inclined, from a reconciliation with her: examples of such reunions have been seen.

The husband's heirs are not admitted to bring an accusation of adultery against his widow, with an intent to deprive her of the benefit of her marriage settlement. They are only allowed to proceed for her being deprived thereof, when the action had been brought in the husband's life-time: yet even in that case, in order to succeed, they must establish their proofs of her conjugal infidelity within the year of mourning.

A woman convicted of adultery, is not thereby emancipated from her husband's power.

There was a time, as Plutarch informs us, when the Lacedemonians, instead of punishing adultery, permitted, or at least tolerated it.

Adultery renders marriage unlawful between the two guilty ones, and forms what the Theologists call *impedimentum criminis*, "An impediment through their criminality."

The Greeks, and some Christians in the east, were of opinion, that a wife's being convicted of adultery, dissolved the marriage compact; and that the husband might without any formal process take unto him another wife. But the council of Trent, in Session xxiv. Can. 7. condemned this opinion, and, in a manner, anathematized all who maintained it.

Adulterine is an epithet given to those children that are begotten in adulterous embraces: they are looked upon in a more odious light, than those engendered by unmarried people. The Romans refused to them even the title of Natural children; as if they were disclaimed by nature.

Such adulterine progeny are disqualified for church-benefices, unless legitimated; instances whereof have been known.

A subsequent marriage, if such can be rendered practicable, by a dissolution either of that of the father, or of the mother of the adulterine child, or even of both, cannot operate its legitimation: so much the contrary, that act constitutes a new crime, because the canon laws absolutely prohibit wedlock between adulterous persons, especially if they had mutually exchanged a promise of marriage during their criminal intercourse.

THE ALCORAN

IS that book wherein the Mahometan Law is contained; or the book of the pretended revelations and doctrine of the false prophet Mahomet.

The word *Alcoran* is Arabic, and literally signifies a Book, or Collection; and the first of these interpretations is the best: for it was Mahomet's intention, that his Alcoran should be called *the Book* by excellence, in imitation of the Jews and Christians, who call the Old and New Testaments *the Scripture*.

The opinion commonly received concerning the origin of the *Alcoran* is, that it was composed by Mahomet, with the assistance of Barylas, a Jacobite heretic; Sergius, a Nestorian monk; and some Jews.

Mr. d'Herbelot in his Oriental Library conjectures, that after the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches were condemned by the œcumenical councils, several bishops, secular priests, regulars and others, who withdrew themselves into the deserts of Arabia and Ægypt, furnished this impostor with many disfigured passages of the holy writ, as well as with many misconceived and wrongly interpreted dogmas, which were farther debased by passing through his untutored and irregular imagination, as can be easily discovered by observing the maxims of those ancient heretics, dispersed throughout the Alcoran.

The Jews scattered through Arabia, contributed as much to the imposition; and they boasted that twelve of their chief doctors were the authors of it. Although there be no absolute authority for believing the former of these two traditions, it appears to be more probable than the latter; since, in promulgating the *Alcoran*, the intent proposed, was to deceive a whole people; and nothing could contribute more effectually to that purpose, than secrecy and silence, for which the gross stupidity of the Arabians proved very favourable; at a time too, when a constant apprehension prevailed, lest, among the multitude, some sagacious mortals might arise, to make an easy discovery of so gross an imposture, which, far from being a work of inspiration, was the botched-up farrago of many hands.

But all Mussulmen believe, as an article of faith, that their prophet, who, they say, was a simple and unlettered man, has foisted nothing of his own into this book, which he received from God, by the ministry of the angel Gabriel, written upon parchment, made of the skin of the ram which Abraham sacrificed in the stead of his son Isaac. They farther add, that it was communicated, but successively, verse by verse, at different times and in different places, during the course of three and twenty years.

Under those pretended interruptions, they would fain shelter the confusion that puzzles throughout this work, and is so unaccountable, that their most able doctors have laboured in vain to throw some light into this chaos: for

from either Mahomet, or his copyist, having collected in a hurry, and without choice, these pretended revelations, there is no possibility of settling the order, according to which they had been sent down from heaven.

The twenty-three years employed by the angel Gabriel to bring the Alcoran down to Mahomet are, as is obvious, a wonderful refuge for his followers; because by their means they apologise for the frequent contradictions, with which his work abounds; and, rather than their prophet should be disgraced, they zealously throw the fault on God himself; asserting, that in the long course of three and twenty years the Deity corrected and reformed many of the dogmas and precepts, which he had already sent to their prophet.

The doctrine of Mahomet may be divided into historical and dogmatic points: the former, though bearing some marks of truth, are yet blended with a great number of fables and absurdities; as, for instance, we find therein, that after the punishment inflicted on the immediate posterity of Adam, called the Most Ancient of Prophets, Noah repaired what the former had lost; and that, as Abraham succeeded to the second, so did Joseph to the third; that Moses was produced and preserved by a miracle; that at length St. John came to preach the gospel; that Jesus Christ, who was conceived incorruptible in the womb of a virgin, privileged from all temptations of the devil, created by the breath of God, and animated by the Holy Ghost, was come to establish it; which Mahomet finally con-

firmed. Although the Alcoran gives great encomiums to the Saviour of the world, whom it calls the Word, the Virtue, the Soul, and the Strength of God; it however denies his eternal generation, and his divinity; mixing fables the most extravagant with the sacred truths of the Christian religion. Nothing is more common than to find in that book, next to some very rational doctrine, the most absurd chimeras.

In regard to the doctrine of rewards and punishments in a future state, as a most powerful motive to excite people to follow a virtuous, and restrain them from a vicious life, Mahomet, having to do with a race of mortals very much addicted to sensual pleasures, in order to win them over to his side, artfully bethought him of making eternal happiness to consist in an uncontrouled enjoyment of such pleasures; and punishment, in a privation of them, accompanied however with some terrible chastisement, more so for its rigour than duration.

Accordingly he teaches them in the Alcoran, that there are seven paradises: and the book Azar adds, that Mahomet had seen them all, mounted upon an Alborak, an animal whose size is between those of the ass and the mule; that the first is made of fine silver; the second of gold; the third of precious stones, where is an angel, from one of whose hands to the other, there is seventy thousand days journey, with a book, in which he always reads; the fourth is made of emeralds; the fifth of crystal; the sixth of a colour like fire; and the seventh is a most delightful gar-

den, irrigated with fountains, and rivers of milk, honey, and wine; ornamented with trees, that enjoy a perpetual verdure, and blossom into nymphs most beautiful to the eye, and delicate to the touch; moreover so enchanting, that if one of them were to spit into the sea, it would immediately take away its bitterness, and sweeten the whole.

This paradise is asserted to be under the guard of angels, some of which have a head like a cow, bearing horns which have embossed upon them forty thousand knobs, and to pass from one knob to another comprehends a journey of forty days: other angels have seventy thousand mouths, with seventy thousand tongues; and each tongue praises God seventy thousand times a day, in seventy thousand different idioms.

Before the throne of the Omnipotent are fourteen wax-tapers, which, to proceed from one end to the other, would take up fifty days journey. All the apartments of those imaginary heavens are decorated in the most surprising manner a wild enthusiastic fancy could suggest. The faithful are there served with the most rare and delicious viands; they espouse the *Hoturis*, or young nymphs, who, notwithstanding their continual intercourse with mussulmen, enjoy a never-fading virginity; whence it appears, that Mahomet makes all the happiness of his predestined to consist in voluptuous sensuality.

His *Hell* implies not perennial, but transitory punishments, which have their period through the goodness of Mahomet, who,

having washed the reprobate and sinful in a fountain of water, admits them to a feast made from the leavings of that prepared for the blest. He allows a judgement also after death, and a sort of purgatory; that is, a temporary punishent in their graves, and in the bowels of the earth, for the bodies of those transgressors who have not lived up perfectly to the spirit of his law.

The two fundamental points, on which the Alcoran would seem to bear, are sufficient to discover the falshood of the whole. The *one* is *Predestination*, which consists in believing, that every event in life happens from a pre-determination of the eternal mind, not to be counter-worked; and it is notorious to what an excess the Mussulmen are infatuated in the behalf of this opinion---The *other* is, that *Mahomet's religion ought to be established without the agency of miracle, or controversy*; so that all opponents were to be put to the sword; and the Mussulman, who kills a disbeliever, is rewarded with paradise. It is well known from history, that the Turkish religion hath established and spread itself less by the influence of seduction, than by violence and the force of arms.

It is not amiss to observe here, that the Alcoran, during Mahomet's life, was kept only in flying sheets, and that his successor Abukeker was the first who had bound them together in a volume, and gave the care of it to Hapsha or Aiiicha the widow of Mahomet, to which, as to the original, recourse might be had in the case of any disputes: for at that time there

were numberless copies of the Alcoran scattered over Asia.

Othman, the successor of Abukeker, ordered several copies to be made out in strict conformity with the original, then in the hands of Hapsha; and that all others should be suppressed.

Some authors pretend that Mohavia, calif of Babylon, having procured all the differing copies of the Alcoran to be collected; he charged six of the most able doctors with the care of selecting whatever should to them appear to have really descended from their prophet; but to throw what did not, into the river.

The event turned out quite contrary to Mohavia's expectation; for instead of establishing one uncontrovertible and only foundation for the Mahometan religion, they became the authors of four different sects. The first and most superstitious is that of Melik, followed by the Moors and the Arabians. The second, called the Imenian, conformable to the tradition of Ali, is adhered to by the Persians. The Turks have embraced the doctrine of Omar, it being the most free; and that of Odman, deemed the most simple, is adopted by the Tartars. Notwithstanding their specific differences, they all agree in one point; which is, to revere Mahomet as the greatest of prophets.

The principal variations, that appear in the copies made since that of Abukeker, arise from the punctuation, which was unknown in Mahomet's time, and hath been since introduced by the commentators, in order to fix

and determine the true reading: they followed, in that, the precedent of the Jewish Mafforah, that had inserted punctuation in the original Hebrew text of the Scripture.

The Alcoran is divided into *suras* or chapters, and the *suras* are sub-divided into verses unconnected, having no relation in sense, and are more prosaic than poetical. The dividing of the Alcoran into *suras* is modern; they amount to sixty. The greatest part of the *suras* or chapters have ridiculous titles, as, *of the Cow*; *of the Ant*; *of the Fly*; and treat of subjects quite different from those which their titles seem to promise.



FRIENDSHIP.

FRRIENDSHIP, in the purity of its meaning, implies nothing more than a virtuous and mutually-pleasing commerce kept up between two persons.--Some objectors may reply, 'You confine it surely within too narrow bounds.'---By no means, if you consider that we allow not to come within the compass of this definition all the connexions, or attachments, between two persons, that are founded on no other basis, but that of a vicious indulgence, or pursuits of mutual worldly interest.

The intercourse that we have one with the other, is in regard either to the mind, or the heart: the refined commerce for the mind's sake is founded on the learning of a person; that, by which the heart is pleasingly attached,

gives birth to friendship. No proposition can be clearer, or is better qualified to unfold what friendship, properly speaking, is in itself, and all its ramifications.

By this definition, it is distinguished from charity, which is an inbred propensity to do good to every body. But the exertions of friendship extend no farther than to those with whom we are actually in connexion. The human kind in general is too vast an object to have an immediate commerce with each individual of society; and, reciprocally, for each individual to have with them.

Friendship is by no means an enemy to that charity which is natural to man; but makes its rays converge into a particular attachment, productive of an agreeable commerce, between two persons. It is an insufficiency within ourselves, that causes the necessity of friendship, which in turn is destroyed by its own deficiency.

Is man alone? He becomes acquainted with his misery; he feels that he wants a prop; in consequence he looks out for an approver of his taste; a companion in his pleasures, and his sufferings; one whose heart and mind can be devoted to him entirely: which circumstance would give to friendship its fairest complexion. Now suppose such a person to be found; possession soon blunts the edge of desire; relish changes to indifference, and gradually expires in disgust.

When any apparent good presents itself to us at a distance, our desires point that way; but no sooner is it attained, than the nothing-

ness of it proves displeasing: our mind's eye, which was attracted to it when at a distance, can no longer rest itself thereon; farther prospects opening to the view. So it happens in friendship, that intimacy, which, beheld at a distance, promised to fix our desires, when viewed too near deceives our hopes; and, so far from filling up the void we expected it would, leaves us in the midst of wants, that distract and make us seek for other resources: from which circumstance we become neglectful of pleasing; grow disagreeable; nay, soon morosely arrogant, as a tribute due, those acts of complacency which had formerly been received as a voluntary gift, and with an air of acknowledging cheerfulness.

It is in the nature of man to appropriate flatteringly to himself a right, as it were, to those favours which politeness gratuitously paid; and, from having been long accustomed thereto, to think he hath a natural claim of possession to things he holds merely from the courtesy of others; and that the will of his friends ought to be entirely at his disposal; nay, that it ought to be governed by him: but when such pretensions spring up on both sides, as it often happens, self-love takes the alarm in each breast, and breaks out in reciprocal remonstrances; whence animosity, dislike, reproachful explications, and a rupture, ensue.

Long-concealed failings (on people's being off their guard through intimacy) are let to break forth, as well as violent passions, that prove no less disgusting in friendship, than some terrible distempers prove in the pursuit of amorous felicity.

Persons of violent tempers, although capable of giving the strongest proofs of a devoted, are not of a constant friendship; which is found to be no where so permanent as in sedate and timid dispositions, whose habitual moderation is the seat best calculated to be that virtue's residence. The gentle and calm-diffusing sentiments commonly attendant on friendship, cheer the hearts of such characters, dilate their minds, expand their souls, render them more confident and alert, mix not only with their amusements, but with their more serious business, and even with their mysterious pleasures: they are the very soul of their existence.

Young people, as yet new to the ways of life, are very open to the first impressions of friendship; but the vivacity of their passions distracts, and renders them inconstant. In age, that exquisite sensibility of friendly impressions is blunted; besides, it is very cautious in whom to place a confidence. Yet people in that time of life form connexions founded on their mutual wants; and reason is the tie: if young people love more tenderly, old people love more solidly.

The duties of friendship prove more extensive than they are imagined to be. The debt due to friendship is always to be proportioned to the degree, and the character of it; which makes so many degrees, and different characters of duty, a most important reflexion, and well worthy of being considered, in order to put a stop to the unjust exclamations so frequently bandied about, and complaining how one has been forsaken, badly served, or disregarded by false friends.

For example's sake, 1. A friend, through no

other engagement, but that of delighting in the same literary amusements, thinks it very strange that another should refuse exposing his credit for him: the friendship in this case was not of a character to require such a proceeding.

2. A friend adopted for the sweetness of his behaviour, and agreeableness of his conversation, applies for a service, which would imply a risk of the granter's fortune: but the friendship was not of a complexion to be entitled to such a sacrifice.

A friend (one whose good advice has at times been of the greatest advantage) is hurt at his not having been consulted upon a certain occasion, and is therein wrong. Perhaps this particular occasion could admit but the confidence of relations and family friends, the only that could with propriety be intrusted with such an affair, whose particularities were incommunicable to any other friends, however intimate.

The just standard of what friends are entitled to expect one from the other, is diversifiable *ad infinitum*, through the various degrees and different characters of friendship. In general, the best rules for conducting with prudence the method that must contribute the most effectually to the mutual satisfaction of friends, and the maintaining of an harmony between them, is, that on one hand, in difficulty, the distressed should expect *less*, rather than *more*, from the friend applied to; and that, on the other hand, the friend applied to should grant *more*, rather than *less*.

It follows, from the above reflexions concern-

ing friendship, that the maxim of an equality among friends should always prevail; for without it there can be no real friendship: *Amicitia aut pares invenit, aut facit*---“ Friendship “ either finds people upon an equality, or renders them so.”

According to this doctrine, where is a monarch's chance to have friends? Must he seek for them among his brother sovereigns; or must he give to his subject-friends a title, to raise them to an equality with him? How else jump in with the sense of the maxim laid down? because the constituent requisites of friendships suppose an uncontrouled freedom of thinking and speaking between two persons, and such as excludes all notion of superiority or inferiority between them; and this equality gives a sweetness to the commerce of friendship; which sweetness results from a freedom on both sides to propose their thoughts, taste, doubts and difficulties; but ever within the specified criterion of the friendship commenced.

Friendship enforces not more an equality, than relationship in blood does. Kindredship amongst people of very different ranks, permits not certain familiarities; of which the best illustration is the answer of a prince to a nobleman, on showing him the equestrian statue of a hero, their common forefather, The former replied, “ He that is under is yours; he above is mine:” the nobleman's air of familiarity was not agreeable to the rank of a prince. Attention to distance and respect are to be observed in friendship, as well as in relationship.

The ancients have deified friendship; but we know not, if, like other divinities, she had either temples, or altars of stone; nor is it of any moment: however, though time has not preserved to us any representations of such; yet Lilio Geraldi would insinuate, in his work on the deities of paganism, that she was engraved in the figure of a young woman, her head bare, body covered with a plain coarse dress, and breast naked down to the region of the heart, on which she applied one hand, holding with the other a dried elm. The last idea is, in our opinion, of the true sublime.



L O V E.

SYMPATHY is one of the principal ingredients in love, being an inclination that takes its rise from the senses: and though from these in general proceeds the intensity of desire, yet are they not always the agents primarily concerned; because it is by no means impossible that there may be a love free from any of the gross languishments of lust. The same passions arise often in different men from very different causes. The same merit may please equally, by being considered in various points of view.

Let us suppose, for example's sake, several men to be enamoured with the same woman. One admires her for her wit, another for her virtue, a third for her capriciousness, &c.

It may at the same time not be impossible, that they are all enraptured with her for a quality which she has not; and that is, when in reality she is a silly female, yet they all revere her for her good sense.---What then? they labour to keep themselves captivated by that quality, which they at first fancied she was possessed of; and it is not at all the volatile beauty they doat upon: for the object of the human passions is neither what degrades, nor ennobles them; no, that depends entirely on the manner in which it is contemplated.

But I have already advanced, that it is possible to find in love an end more refined than that of pleasing the senses, and from the following observation. I remark, every day, men surrounded by women, at church, play-houses, public walks, &c. whom they had never seen before; yet do not always determine their liking for the most beautiful in reality, or even who appear to themselves to be such. Now, what reason can be assigned for this puzzling phenomenon?

The best that in our opinion can be offered is, that each particular beauty is expressive of a particular character; and that which accords the nearest with our own, we give a preference to. It is then the character that determines; it is the soul we love; which cannot be denied by any accurate reasoner.

Therefore the external appearance that makes an impression upon our senses, is pleasing to us, but as a representative image of that superior excellence which is hidden from our view: consequently, we love the sensible qualities only

as the organs of our pleasure, and with subordination to those insensible qualities, of which they are the expressive types. We can then safely affirm, that the soul is the chief object of our passion: it is not then to the senses, but to the mind, that the soul is pleasing and attractive; wherefore the object that affects the mind, becomes the prevailing interest; and if that of the senses were in opposition, it would be soon forced to give way: there needs no more, than to tell us, that it is in gross opposition, is a stain to the soul; it is immediately discarded, and love in its purity triumphs.

Such a love as now painted, is unquestionable, yet by no means to be confounded with friendship; for in the latter, the mind is the organ of sentiment; but in the former, the senses: and as the ideas that are conceived through the medium of the senses, are infinitely more powerful than those which are produced by reflexion, the feeling inspired by them assumes the name of passion by pre-eminence: friendship cannot be said to go so far. Stop; the question begins to become ticklish, and the absolute decision of it we resign to more experienced, and more delicate scrutinists of nature, than we can pretend to be.

There can be no love without esteem, and the reason is clear: love results from ourselves being pleased in the persons whom we love: we cannot help discovering an object of value in what pleaseth us; the heart conspires to enhance its merit; and hence arises the motive, why we prefer ourselves to others, because with none

other can we be so much pleased, as with our dear selves.

Wherefore we not only esteem ourselves, but every thing we love, as hunting, music, horses, &c. For they who despise their own passions, do it through dint of reflexion, and by an effort of reason: it is by no means an impulsion of instinct.

By a natural consequence of the same principle, hatred sinks, in our opinion, those who are the objects of it, as forcibly as love raises them. It is quite against the grain of human feeling, not to accuse of some remarkable default whatever is hurtful to it. It is a kind of confused judgement, to which the mind tacitly assents.

But if reflexion should arise in opposition to this instinctive impulse (because there are qualities which mankind in general are agreed to esteem, and to detest others) then this contradiction serves but to irritate the passion more; and rather than yield to the dictates of truth, she proves obstinately regardless of them, and employs every effort to strip the object disliked of its natural good qualities, in order to debase it with odious ones, to satisfy the interest espoused to run it down; and then an unbridled loose is given to the indulgence of prevailing prejudice.

Love of the world.---What a variety of things is comprehended in that expression! Libertinism, the desire of pleasing, the wish of power, &c. The love of whatever excites the pleasure of rational sensibility, or solid grandeur, is no where so intimately blended as in this

passion, when proportioned to the mind and the heart of the person that is therewith affected. As genius and activity impel to virtue and glory; so little talents of idleness, a turn to pleasure, gaiety, and vanity, lower people to the pursuit of mean objects. But it is instinct that actuates in each alike: the love of the world contains the lively seeds of almost every passion.

The Love of Glory gives its votaries a natural authority over the hearts of others, which must be as pleasing to them, as any of the agreeable sensations. Those who affect to talk of its nullity in a rallying manner, are perhaps the least capable of enduring the contempt of a single person. The void of great passions is commonly filled up by a number of little ones: the contemner of glory values himself for dancing well, or some equally insignificant qualification. They are so blind in understanding, as not to comprehend, that in all their favourite trifles, it is glory they are so vainly, curiously, and anxiously in pursuit of.---
'Glory,' say they, 'is neither virtue, nor merit.' So far they reason right: it is neither, but is the reward of both. By her, mortals are aroused to action, and to virtue; and through her energy we often render ourselves estimable from the very hope of becoming so.

The thoughts of the multitude are in general obscure and groveling, relatively to virtue, glory, &c. but the more trifling objects of life have their acknowledged proportions. The oak is a great tree, near the cherry-tree: equally different is man from man.-----What

are the inclinations and merits of men who despise glory? Have they ever deserved any?

The Love of Science, and of Literature, resembles very much in principle the former; for they both spring from an internal sense of the void that is owing to our imperfection: but the one would fain shine out of us, a new being as it were; while the other concentrates itself in cultivating and extending the internal fund. The passion of glory wants to make us great without; that of the sciences, within ourselves.

The mortal who has no taste for letters, has neither a great soul, nor a sagacious mind. The arts are dedicated to delineate the complexion of beautiful nature. The arts and sciences embrace all that appears great or useful to the human mind. Therefore to those who reject them, nothing is left for their enjoyment, but objects equally unworthy of being taught or delineated.

It is a false pretension of theirs, to say, that they are satisfied with possessing objects, about which others occupy themselves, merely in the contemplation.---It is not true that people possess what they do not understand; or can esteem the reality of those things, whose representation they despise. They are proved liars by experience, and reflexion confirms the charge against them.

Most people honour letters, as they do virtue; that is, as a thing which they are not desirous of knowing or loving. However, but very few, if any persons can be so ignorant, as

not to know that good books are in a manner the quintessence of the most cultivated minds, the precious abstract of their knowledge, and the golden fruit of all their researches. With the entire study of a whole life, a person capacitated may be made acquainted in a few hours. How valuable a succour! how inestimable a treasure!

If we were wise, we would confine ourselves to a few branches of knowledge, in order to make ourselves completely masters of them, by reducing them, as it were, into a familiarity with us, and into the practice of life. The most elaborate theory instructs but imperfectly, and would be of very little use to a man who should never practise. To possess theoretically the rules of the art of dancing, would be of very little advantage to one who was never to practise. The same may be said of all the arts dependant on the human mind.

Nay, we may safely make this farther assertion, that study is but seldom of great utility, if, at the same time, it is not enlivened by an intercourse with the polite world. These two articles ought never to be separated; the one teaches us to think, the other to act; the one to speak, the other to write; the one to plan our actions, the other to render the execution easy. A commerce with the polite world gives the farther advantage of thinking naturally; and an application to study, that of thinking solidly.

By the result inevitable from these principles, they who are deprived of both these advantages disclose the weakness of the human

mind. Does nature then produce no where else, but in the midst of courts, and flourishing cities, well-formed and amiable geniuses? No doubt, she has the right of producing them indiscriminately every where: and though she cannot put all men upon an equality, she leaves them (supposing that they are endowed with the like talents, and like application) at the same equidistance, with which they came into the world. But at all events, what good can accrue to an individual, or the state, from fine natural parts neglected?

The Love of one's Neighbour is the most moral, just, and profitable, of all sentimental exertions; and it is as necessary for the happy enjoyment of life in all systems of civilised society, as it is in the christian, for the never-ending happiness of a future life.

Love between the two Sexes.---When once conceived, it is always the predominant passion; according to its impressions, the soul, the heart, and mind, are new moulded. It is neither little nor great, dependently on the heart wherein it glows, but according to its own quality: for it unquestionably appears, that love is, to the persons actuated by that generous passion, what the soul is to the body it animates.

When lovers demand from each other proofs of a reciprocal sincerity, in order, as it were, to discover when there shall be a cessation to their love; such enquiries are started not so much with a view to being informed, when such a dreaded period shall happen on either side, as to be assured, that they are, and will

always be, loved by the person interrogated, from making no answer to the contrary.

As people do not begin or cease to love through their own choice, a lover has no right to complain of the inconstancy of his beloved; nor she, of the fickleness of her lover.

Love, like fire, can exist but in a continual motion, and ceases to be when it ceases to hope, or to fear.

There is only one sort of love, but there are a thousand different copies of it. Most men mistake for love a desire of enjoyment. Let the person, who would sincerely know by which of these two principles he is actuated, examine himself before the eyes of her, for whom he has conceived an affection. If he feel an intimidated flurry of his senses at being near, and beholding her, and that he dare not attempt beyond the line of a most respectful submission, he certainly is in love; because that passion, when true, forbids, even to our thinking faculty, the least indulgence of any sensual idea, or escape of imagination, that might prove offensive to the object beloved, could she possibly come to a knowledge of it. But, on the contrary, if the charms he is enamoured of, make a greater impression on his senses than on his mind, he is not in love, and what he feels is no more than a lustful appetite.

When a man truly loves, that passion will never permit him to be guilty of any act disagreeable to either conscience or honour.

*Un amour vrai sans feinte, et sans caprice,
Est en effet le plus grand frein du vice,
Dans ses liens qui sait se retenir,
Est honnête homme, ou va le devenir.*

FNFANT PRODIGE.

IMITATED.

When love is true, without delusion's mask,
 For guilty favours it will never ask;
 Within due bounds their passion keep who can,
 Or is, or soon will prove, a virtuous man.

PRODIGAL SON.

Whoever is capable of loving, is virtuous: nay, more, we may dare to assert, that whoever is virtuous is capable of loving: for as an unfitness for generation must proceed from an organical fault of the body, so to be incapable of love must be a fault of the soul.

There is no danger to be feared for one's morals from love; which, on the contrary, gives a new polish to our manners, and makes them approach nearer to perfection. It is love frees the heart from all savage emotions, gives more pliancy to the character, and more complacency to behaviour: for from the custom acquired through love, of lending one's will to the satisfaction of another, the pleasing habit is acquired of commanding, directing, and keeping the bridle upon our desires; as well as of conforming one's taste and inclinations to the place, time, and persons present. But morals cannot be said to be in equal safety, when men are only actuated by those carnal desires, which the grosser part of society confounds with love.

From all that has been advanced above, it may be very obviously concluded, that "*True love is very rare, and is in that case not dissimilar from the apparition of ghosts, of which every body speaks, but few persons, if indeed any, have ever seen*"---*Maxims de la Rochefoucault.*

Conjugal Love is known by characteristics quite unequivocal. A professed lover, being often his own dupe, thinks himself in love; but a husband knows, to a certainty, whether he loves or not. He has enjoyed, and enjoyment is the touch-stone of amorous passion. True love is kindled up a-new by fond embraces, but the unstable and transitory is extinguished.

If, after proof made, a surmise of being deceived or disappointed in one's expectation, interfere, where can there be a cure found for such an evil? There is none but in patience. However, if practicable, let friendship be substituted in the place of love: but can so flattering a resource be expected? It is to be much doubted, or rather despaired of; because friendship between married people is the ripened fruit of long-continued love, the impetuosity of whose first transports hath been calmed by habitual enjoyment and time. In the married state, when love prevails not, hatred usurps the Hymeneal throne; or else, through a judicious temperament of the parties, refuge is sought in a polite state of indifference.

A true love at first conception, may be often superseded by fault of character, capriciousness in temper, and a jarring opposition of sentiments. A covetous husband begins to be disgusted with a wife, who, thinking more generously than himself, believes she can very well regulate the expence she proposes upon their income. A prodigal husband, on the other hand, hates an over economical wife.

In order to live happy in the married state,

let persons beware of entering into it without a moral certainty of loving, and being loved. Let a solidity, as it were, be given to it, by founding it on the firm basis of virtue. But when its only object is the possession of beauty, charms, and youth, (advantages as frail as they are transitory) conjugal love will fade along with them; while, on the contrary, if its attachment is fixed only on the good qualities of the heart and mind, no revolution of time can ever shake it, or cause any change.

The sure method to acquire a rightful claim of being loved, is to study to deserve it. Wherefore, after a cohabitation of twenty years, be as careful to please, and as attentive not to give offence, as at the very time when you made your first advances of love, and they were acknowledged not to be disagreeable. A heart is to be kept only through the same means by which it was won.

The newly married, at first, behold each other with looks almost of adoration; they best know by what means they have inspired each other with such a refined, nay, enthusiastic tenderness. It is the effect of their mutual respect, complaisance, and diligent attention over their exterior deportment, to let no faults be discovered, or to render the escapes of them as inoffensive as possible. Why do they not continue the same method after the honey-moon (as it is called) as before? or if even the whole of such conduct should be felt too troublesome, why do they not practise the half of their former obliging behaviour?

Why do they cease making it a point to be loved, when there is so much more glory and advantage to be got by it? Is it not amazing, that persons who set so high an esteem upon themselves, yet with so little reason; who are actuated too by so much vanity, are so fond of seeing proofs of their merit, or that which they suppose themselves to have, should, without becoming either more praise-worthy, or more modest, cease to be proud and vain, on perhaps the very occasion, where their being so can contribute most to the interest, pleasure, and happiness of their lives?

Paternal Love. If the reasoning principle in man, or rather the abuse thereof, did not sometimes operate in depraving his instinct, we should have but little, or rather nothing to say upon the subject of paternal love. The brute creation stands in no need of our moral treatises to be instructed to love their young ones, nurture and educate them: to these duties they are impelled by instinct, which when not disturbed, or made to deviate from its innate laws, by the intricacies of perplexing sophistry, pursues the paths marked out, invariably, and without ever stumbling.

If mankind were then to act, in this point, conformably with other animals; from the moment an infant opens its eyes to see the light, the mother would begin by nursing it with her own milk, watching over all its wants, protecting it from every accident; and would think that no instants of her life could be better employed than those taken up in the acquitting herself of such important duties.

The father, on his side, would contribute by studying (if it were a boy) his taste, his humour, and his inclinations, in order to form a judgment which way his talents might point. He would cultivate this young plant, and would look upon it as a criminal indifference to intrust him, for that, either to an ignorant preceptor, or, what is much worse, a vicious one.

But the power of custom is such, that, notwithstanding the energy of instinct, it disposes of these matters in quite a different manner. The child is no sooner born, than it is cruelly separated from its mother, who is either too delicate, or too weak, or of too fashionable a rank in life, to do so unseemly a thing, as to give milk to her own child. In vain kind nature has purposely given a new turn to the nutritious fluid by which it had been hitherto nourished in the mother's womb, and directed to the breasts of this unfeeling step-mother, two streams of milk intended to supply its future sustenance: her genial intention is disregarded, slighted, and scorned; and the barbarous parent, though perhaps at the risk of her own life, is resolved to dry up the source of this beneficent nectar. The poor child is handed over from its natural, to a representative parent, that proportions her care and tenderness to the stipend she is to receive.

Which of our fashionable mothers would chuse to undertake the nursing of a child she knew not to be her own? What species of fondness would she treat it with? Now let such a lady reflect, whether the newly born babe,

which she has banished, will, after a certain course of time, be truly her child; since from the continual losses that are daily made by every living body, and the reparations necessary to be effected therein, and are now by the milk of an alien, they must by degrees have transformed it into another being. The milk it has sucked was not adapted to its organs; wherefore it was a less profitable nutriment than the real mother's milk would have been. Moreover, who knows if, from healthy and robust, its stamina are not changed to sick and weakly? Who can tell what influence such a transformation may have upon the infant's heart, from the mutual dependence that there is between body and soul; and whether he may not one day become, in consequence of this foreign engraftment, a coward, a knave, and a malefactor? for the pure and delicious nutriment it had received in its first genuine plantation, soon degenerates, when adulterated with one not congenial to it.

Kings are compared to the fathers of families, and not without reason: this comparison is founded upon the very nature and origin of royalty.

*Le premier des rois fut un soldat heureux,**

“A lucky soldier was the first of kings,”

says one of our great poets. But, let it be observed, that he puts these words into the mouth of a tyrant, an usurper, and the murderer of his king; because it is a sentiment unworthy of

* MEROPÉ, a tragedy by Mr. De Voltaire.

being uttered by any lawful prince, who, differing from Polyphontes, would more truly in character say,

Le premier qui fut roi, regna sur ses enfans,

“ He, as o’er children reign’d, who first was king.”

A father was naturally the head of his family: that, by increasing, became a people, of which consequently he was the ruler, or king; and, no doubt, the eldest son thought himself entitled to inherit the father’s authority. Thus the sceptre was continued in the same house, until a lucky soldier, or some fortunate rebel, became the first stem of a new race.

Wherefore, as a king may be compared, with propriety, to the father of a family, so may the latter be compared to a king; and the duties of a monarch be determined by those of the father of a family, and the obligations of a father to his children, by those of a sovereign to his subjects. To love, to govern, to reward, and to punish, are the obligations of a father and a monarch.

A father who loves not his children, is a monster; a king who loves not his subjects, is a tyrant. A father and a king are the living images of God, whose empire is founded in love. Nature ordained fathers for the good of their children; society instituted kings for the happiness of the people; and hence the necessity of a head in a family, as well as in a state. But if this head become indifferent about the welfare of its members, looking on them as nothing better than instruments devoted to render him happy, although its true interest

can be secured by no means so effectually, as by proceeding with humanity and goodness towards family and subjects; notwithstanding the natural head be the principal seat of life and sentiment, a head is but poorly situated when raised on a starved and skeleton-like body.

The same parity subsists between the government of a family and that of a state. The master who rules the one, or the other, has two objects to fulfil; the one, to make morality, virtue, and piety, prevail; the other, to defend it from trouble, disasters, and want. The actuating principle ought to be a love of order, and not a passion for ruling, because that always loves to drive to extremes even the most experienced docility.

The power of rewarding and punishing, is the great sinew of government. The Deity never commands without terrifying by menaces, and inviting by promises. Fear and hope are the two great efficient by which the human heart is agitated. Fathers and kings, ye have sufficient power in your hands to increase these two passions; but remember, that exact justice is as careful to reward, as watchful to punish. The Deity hath established you his representatives and substitutes upon earth; but it is not in order that ye should thunder only, but likewise that ye should deal out beneficent showers, and exhilarating dews.

Paternal love differs not from self-love.---A child subsists but by its parents, depends on them, sprang from them, owes all it has to them; there is nothing in which they have so immediate a property. Consequently the

father of a family never disunites the idea of a child from his own, unless the latter, by some contradictory act, weakens this title of property. But the more a father is irritated and afflicted by such contradiction, the more unquestionably is the above assertion proved.

Filial and Fraternal Love.---Children can have no power over the will of parents: their own being generally opposed, that makes them think that they are beings apart from them, and therefore can thence derive no self-love, because a state of dependency excludes it, as must be obvious to all observers; and this is the reason to be assigned why the tenderness of children for parents is not so lively as that of parents for them. But the laws have provided against this inconveniency. They are a guaranty to parents against the ingratitude of children; for, as nature is the assured hostage to children that no abusive stretch of the laws will be made use of against them, so it was just to insure to old age a return of what had been granted to infancy.

In all children of liberal minds, gratitude foreruns the dictates of duty. According to the true spirit of unsophisticated nature, we love those who love and protect us; and the being habituated to a justly grounded dependency maketh us lose all irksome sensations thereof. He who deserves the name of man, will always prove a good father; and he who has not honest principles, will rarely, if ever, prove a good son.

However, to discuss this matter fairly, let sympathy, or ties of blood, be substituted to

what has here been advanced. It is no improper question to ask why the ties of blood are not so strong, or binding in children, as in parents; why sympathy is weakened in proportion as submission decreases; and why brothers often conceive a hatred for each other upon very slight foundations.

Let us first settle by what bond brothers are connected in friendship. A like fortune, like name, like birth, like education; sometimes, a like character; and finally, the custom of looking upon themselves as belonging to each other, and enjoying but one common existence. That is the motive of their friendship, which ranks under self-love. But let a method be devised to cause a separation between brothers on the score of interest; their friendship wanes and dies away; because the very self-love, that was the cement of it, is now diverted to another object.

The Love of Esteem.---It is not an easy matter to investigate the primary, and most ancient reason for our love of esteem. It is but a vague and unsatisfactory answer, to say, that we desire the esteem of others on account of the pleasure which we derive from it; for this being a pleasure merely from reflection, the difficulty still remains; because the postulatam, or demand, is still in its full force, why this esteem which is extern, and separated from us, yet makes our satisfaction.

We are left equally in the dark by those who alledge, for reason, the utility of glory; for, although the esteem acquirable in society makes men often succeed in their designs, yet

there are circumstances wherein it can by no means be admitted for a reason. What advantage could a Mutius, a Leonidas, a Codrus, or a Curtius, &c. promise to themselves? By what view of interest can those Indian wives be incited to throw themselves into the flames, after the decease of their husbands? Do they seek, even in the despite of laws and friendly remonstrances, an esteem to which they are not to survive, nor have the least shadow of hope to enjoy?

It has been ingeniously asserted by some persons, that self-love in all individuals fosters, with complacency, a flattering idea of their own perfections; which becomes so far their favourite idol, as not to let them endure any thing that is offensive to it, whether from the quarter of contempt, or injustice; but makes them, on the contrary, be ever passionately on the search for what may sooth and heighten its consequences, which nothing does so effectually as esteem and praise.

According to such a principle, the advantage of glory would consist in this: that we are confirmed in the good opinion we had already conceived of ourselves by the esteem of others. But this notion is soon overturned when we reflect, that the same persons are more pleased with a bare appearance of merit that acquires to them the esteem of others, than with the real merit for which they intrinsically esteem themselves; or, in other words, they would prefer having faults, for which they should be esteemed by the public, to good qualities, for which they should not. Besides, what a

number of persons are desirous of gaining the public esteem, even by qualities they know they have not! which sufficiently proves that mankind has not recourse to a foreign esteem, to be confirmed in the good opinion they have of themselves.

Wherever the source of this inclination may be sought for, I am sure the true reason of it can be deduced but from the divine wisdom of the Creator; for as the Deity makes the love of pleasure useful towards preserving the body, and propagating the species, by uniting the sexes, as well as by interesting us in the welfare and propagation of society; there is no doubt also, but that his wisdom makes the love of esteem useful by hindering us from letting ourselves be debased through groveling and voluptuous pursuits; and, instead thereof, by making us raise our thoughts to praise-worthy and honourable actions, that suit much better with the dignity of our nature.

This precaution would be quite unnecessary, if man were guided by his reason alone, independently of sentiment; because then reason would have shewn him the useful, and made him prefer it to the agreeable. But his reason is so partial, and so often judges in favour of pleasure, arbitrarily annexing honour and decency to what it pleases, that eternal wisdom thought proper to give him, for the judge of his actions, not only his own reason, that suffers itself to be corrupted by voluptuousness, but also the reason of other men, that is not so easily seduced.

Self-love, or the Love of Ourselves, is a self-pleasing return within us from the object we love. To love a thing, is to take a pleasure in its possession, in its charms, in their progressively unfolding themselves; and to be afraid of its being taken from us, or of its decaying.

Many philosophers ascribe every sort of attachment to self-love; for, according to their sense, man appropriates to himself in a manner every thing he loves; and seeks therein but his own pleasure and especial satisfaction: for that a preference is given to self before every other consideration. Nay, they go so far as to deny, that he who voluntarily sacrifices his life for another, prefers him to himself.

In this, however, they shoot beyond the mark; because, if the object of our love be dearer to us than even our existence without that object, it seems then that our love predominates, and not individualship; since every thing vanisheth from us with life, as well with the good which we had appropriated to us by self-love, as even one's very being does.

Their answer is, that possession makes us confound, in this sacrifice, our life with that of the object beloved; and we induce ourselves to think that we abandon, or sacrifice, but one part of ourselves to preserve the other. They cannot at any rate refuse allowing, that the part we preserve seems to us more valuable than that we sacrifice. Wherefore, from the moment that we look upon ourselves to be the inferior part of a whole, then most manifestly

and most uncontrovertibly a preference is given in behalf of the object loved.

The same thing may be said of a man, who voluntarily, and in cool blood, dies for glory: the imaginary life, which he gains at the expence of his real one, - is an incontestable instance of the preference he gives to glory, and which justifies the distinction made, and not without reason, betwixt self-love and the love of ourselves.

Actuated by the love of ourselves, we seek for happiness out of ourselves; nay, we love ourselves externally more than internally, because ourselves are not the objects. Self-love, on the contrary, labours to render every thing subservient to its own convenience and well-being. It is its only object and end; for as the passions, that arise from the love of ourselves, devote us to things; so self-love would have things dedicate themselves to us, and would fain be the centre, in which they all should concur.

The love of ourselves can sin only in excess, or in quality: its irregularity consists either in loving too much, or loving wrongly, or in a combination of both. The love of ourselves sins not in excess; because it is not blameable to love one's self as much as possible, so it be properly; for in fact what is meant by loving one's self? Why, to desire every thing that may contribute to its good, and shun every thing that may procure it harm. In a word, it means to seek one's happiness.

It must indeed be owned, that people sometimes wish or fear too much, and unite their

sensations of pleasure to what they imagine to be their happiness, with too great a warmth: but take care that the excess be assignable to the demerit of the object of your passion, rather than to the great extension of the love of ourselves: and the proof we are to rest upon is, that we not only may, but ought to entertain unlimited desires of sovereign felicity, and nurse an unbounded fear of sovereign misery; for it would be erroneous to have but limited wishes of infinite good.

In fine, if man were to love himself but in a limited manner, the void of his heart could not be infinite; and if the void of his heart were not infinite, it follows of course, that it could not have been made for the possession of God, but for that of finite and limited objects.

Religion and experience teach us alike the contrary doctrine. Nothing is more lawful, or more just, than this insatiable avidity which makes us to desire, after a possession of the advantages to be had in this life, the sovereign good in the next. All who have sought for the latter in the pursuits of this world have been mistaken; and could never find it.

Brutus, who had made philosophy his particular profession, thought he was right in seeking for it in virtue. But as he loved virtue for herself, which contains nothing either amiable or praise-worthy, except as it has a relation to the Deity; he was guilty, unknown to himself, of a fine and ingenious idolatry, that grossly deceived him. Wherefore, dying, he was obliged to own his error, crying aloud,

“ Now, O virtue! I know thou art but a
“ wretched phantom.”

This insatiable avidity of the human heart is not an evil;—so far from it, there was a necessity it should be, that mankind by its means might find themselves disposed to seek a God; therefore what, in the metaphorical and figurative idea, or sense, is called a heart of an infinite capacity, a void that cannot be filled by the creature, means, in the proper and literal sense, a soul that naturally desires an infinite good, in an unbounded manner, and cannot be contented without attaining it. If it be then so regulated above, that the void of our hearts cannot be filled by the creatures, it is necessary that we should desire infinitely; that is, we should love ourselves without restraint, because to love one's self, is to desire one's happiness.

Let it not be objected to us here, what we very well know, that human nature is limited, and not capable (strictly speaking) of forming infinite desires intensely. Although desires may not be infinite in one sense, they are so in another; because it is certain, that our soul desires to the very utmost extent of its powers; that, if the number of spirits necessary for the organ could be increased *ad infinitum*, so would the intensity of its desires; and, to conclude, if infinity be not in the act, it is in the disposition of the heart, naturally insatiable.

It is, therefore, a gross error to put the love of ourselves in opposition to the love of the Deity, when the former is properly regulated; for what is meant by loving ourselves as we

ought? Why, it signifies loving God. And what is implied by loving God? Why, the loving ourselves as we ought; for the loving God, is the good sense of loving ourselves; it is the spirit and perfection of it. When the love of ourselves is turned towards other objects, it deserves not to be called *love*. It is fraught with more danger than the most cruel hatred; but when the love of ourselves turns itself towards God, it is then confounded with divine love.

It has hitherto been insinuated, that the love of ourselves kindles all our other affections, and is the general principle of our actions. The proof of which truth is thus made out: In the conception of an intelligent creature, we conceive a will; a will necessarily tends to the object that is congruous to it; and that which is congruous to it, is a good relatively to its nature, and consequently an essential good. Therefore, by always loving her own good, she loves herself, and every thing relative to her; for in what consists the congruity of the object to which she inclines, but in the essential relation it has to her, as being congruous to her? Is it not then she that loves herself in the congruity which the object has with her?

It is not to be denied that the affections we have for others often give birth to our desires, our fears, and our hopes. What is the principle of this affection? None other but the love of ourselves. Scrutinize into all the secret sources of human friendship, and they will all be found reducible to interest, grati-

tude, proximity, sympathy, and a delicate convenience between virtue, and a love of ourselves; which induces us to think that we love her for herself, although in fact we love her but for the sake of ourselves.

It is from that source proximity derives all the powers it has to excite our affections. We love our children, for the reason that they are our children. If they were the children of another person, they would be objects of indifference to us. Therefore it is not them that we love, but the proximity that connects them with us.

It is a known truth, that the children do not love their parents so much as the parents love their children; but this difference comes from another cause. See the articles of *Paternal* and *Filial Love*.

But as there is a proximity of blood, so there is a proximity of profession, of country, &c. It is also certain, that affections diversify themselves in this regard to an infinite variety; but then proximity must not be opposed by interest, for the latter almost always infallibly prevails. Interest affects us directly; proximity, by reflection; which is the reason that interest acts always with more force than proximity. But it happens in that, as in every other thing, that particular circumstances operate considerable changes in general propositions.

Not only proximity is the source of friendship, but our affections vary also according to the degrees of proximity. The quality of man, which we all carry about us, implies

that general benevolence which we call humanity: *homo sum; humani nihil à me alienum puto.*

“ I am a man, and therefore think nothing,
“ relative to mankind, foreign from my
“ concern.”

Proximity of nation occasionally inspires men with a sentimental benevolence unknown to those who reside in the same country; because this proximity loses all its energy in the number of those who share it: but it becomes very quick when two or three persons, natives of the same country, meet in a foreign climate. Then the love of ourselves, that stands in need of a prop and consolation, finding it in the persons of those whom a like interest, and a like proximity, ought to put into a like disposition, never fails having a constant attention to this proximity, if no intervening motive of interest oppose.

The proximity of profession is in general productive rather of aversion than friendship, through the jealousy with which it commonly irritates one man against another. But proximity of rank and condition causes quite a different effect, being almost ever accompanied with sentiments of benevolence for each other. It is surprising to many, that the great folks of this world should appear so devoid of compassion for the common herd of mankind; but the reason is, that seeing them at so great a distance from themselves, and looking down upon them with the eyes of vanity and self-love, they cannot be induced to consider them in a light of proximity, or neighbourly situation to theirs, and are quite averse from

despising any vestiges of such a bordering: because both their hearts and minds are elevated with the flattering notion of such an hereditary distance being established betwixt them and other men; than which no idea is more welcome, or more agreeable to their pride.

The barbarous inflexibility of Brutus, at seeing his sons put to death in his presence, is not an act altogether so disinterested as people generally imagine. The greatest of Latin bards points to the genuine sense thereof in this celebrated line,

Vincet amor patriæ, laudumque immensa cupido.

“The love of Rome, and glory, shall prevail.”

But he has not developed all the secret springs of interest; which, revealed, make the inhumanity of this stern Roman very glaring.

Brutus was, what man in general is: he loved himself preferably to all other objects. His sons were guilty of a crime, that tended to the destruction of Rome, yet more certainly to that of Brutus: so that, if, on one hand, paternal affection might pardon the criminality, yet self-love, directly attacked and offended thereby, aggravates the heinousness of it; and Rome, no doubt, attributed to her own glory the honour of a sentence, which Brutus had seen executed in a sacrifice to the love of himself. The victim was made not for the country's glory, but his own safety; wherefore this mistakenly boasted hero was cruel, rather through weakness than magnanimity.

Interest reigns universal monarch over all human beings, and they pant for it in every object of their attachment; for, as there are

various sorts of interest, so there are various sorts of affections caused thereby in human breasts.

An interest of voluptuous pleasure gives birth to friendships of gallantry; an interest of ambition, to political connexions; an interest of pride, to illustrious alliances; an interest of avarice, to profitable engagements. The vulgar cry, that commonly exclaims against interested friendship, knows not what it says: and its error springs from its only knowing, that, in general, there is but one sort of interested friendship, which is that of avarice; whereas there exist as many sorts of different affections, as there is a variety of objects to be coveted.

Thus the crowd foolishly thinks that it is criminal to be interested; never considering, that, on the contrary, it is disinterestedness that ruins people: for, if men were to offer us objects sufficiently great to satisfy ourselves, we should be very wrong not to desire them with a love of interest; and nobody could have a right of being angry with us for the preference given to the motives of such an interest, before those of proximity, or any other consideration:

The most refined gratitude is not untinctured with the principle of the love of ourselves; for in the main, what difference is there between interest and gratitude? This only: the former has, for its object, a good to come; the latter, one that has been obtained. Gratitude then is no more than a delicate return of self-love upon ourselves, for having been obliged: it must however be owned to

be, in some sort, the elevation and subliming of interest. We love not our benefactor, because he is amiable, but because he has loved us.

Sympathy we have laid down as the fourth cause of our affection. It is of two sorts: there is a sympathy of the body, and a sympathy of the soul. The source of the former is to be investigated in the temperament; and that of the latter, in those secret springs, with which our heart is commonly agitated.

For what reason, think you, is it, that I hate this man at first sight, although unknown to me? It is, because he has some features resembling a man's that had heretofore offended me; and such disagreeable remembrancers, without any reflexion on my side, awaken in me a sensation of hatred.---Why, on the contrary, am I at first sight determined in the favour of a person, without previous information of his having any claim to merit, or not? Because he has some complexional conformity with myself, my children, or my friends, or some body that I may have loved. It is hence obvious what a great share the love of ourselves hath in those mysterious and secret transports of inclination, which one of our poets describes in the following manner,

*Il est des nœuds secrets, il est des sympathies,
Dont par les doux accords les ames asserties, &c.*

I M I T A T E D.

“ The mutual bliss, kind sympathy of love,

“ Which, in embraces, the enamour'd prove, &c.

But if, after having treated of corporeal sympathies, we were now to enter into a scruti-

nizing detail of spiritual sympathies; we should discover, that the loving of others by sympathy, is, to speak properly, a cherishing of the resemblance they have with us; and the pleasure that thence results, is from the loving of our dear selves in their persons. What secret charm can be more delicious, than the opportunity of thus doing homage to ourselves, without committing any trespass against modesty?

We love not only those to whom nature has given any resemblance of ourselves; but even those who study by art to conform themselves with, and to imitate us, not excluding at the same time our hatred for those that are vicious, or rather mimicking copies. Nobody chuses to be made ridiculous; one would rather be odious. Therefore we look with a resentful eye on those criminal copiers, who make a character of ridicule to rebound upon their imitated originals in us.

But upon what principles of self-love can be founded the affection which mankind in general naturally have for virtuous men, although, at the same time, there is such an universal indifference about resembling them? for in this case vice pays a forced homage to virtue. The crowd cannot help esteeming and revering it.

The ready answer is, that there are but very few persons who have renounced virtue for ever, and do not think, that, although they are not virtuous at the present time, they shall hereafter become so. Let it be also observed,

that virtue is as essentially amiable, respectively to the love of ourselves, as vice is essentially odious to it. And the reason lies here: vice is a sacrifice, which we make of others to ourselves; and virtue is a sacrifice which we make of ourselves to the good of others, in some pleasure or advantage we were pleased with. How is it possible, that we should not love clemency? She is willing to pardon our crimes. Generosity deprives herself to be of service to us. Humility is ready to give up every thing to us, nor means to oppose any of our pretensions. Temperance has a regard for our honour and conduct, not our pleasures. Justice asserts our right, and secures what belongs to us. Valour protects us; Prudence conducts us; Moderation spares us; Charity relieves us, &c.

Some morose objector may throw himself atwhart, crying out---“If these virtues do good, it is not to me.”---That is granted---yet, disagreeable sir, were you in other circumstances they would: but these virtues are always supposed to have a beneficent disposition towards serving, when an occasion should present itself. And, for proof, have not you often, at the very time in which you expected neither succour nor protection from an opulent person, a secret, and as it were involuntary regard for him nevertheless? which is not to be attributed to your mind, that perhaps despises the qualities of this person; but to the love of yourself, that makes you respect in this man the mere power, of which he is possessed, to do you good. It is therefore demonstrated, that the love of yourself mixes with that you have for virtue. Therefore we love those virtues that have a more

profitable relationship to us, than others that have not; as, for example, we naturally love clemency more than severity, generosity than œconomy, &c.

We are by no means to except even the vicious and libertine members of society from being lovers of the several virtues; so far from it, that, from the very reason of their being vicious, virtue must appear more amiable to them. Humility makes every road level and smooth for the proud: liberality, because it gives, never proves displeasing to a miser: temperance, by leaving people in the enjoyment of their pleasures, cannot be disagreeable to a voluptuary, who desires to have neither a rival, nor competitor.

One would have hardly imagined, that the affection which worldly people profess to have for virtuous persons should spring from so foul a source; and the following paradox will not less surprise, viz. “It often happens, that our
“secret vices cause that love which we have
“for the virtue of others.”

We shall not stop here, but will make this farther bold assertion, That the love of ourselves has a great share in those exalted and refined sentiments, which morality and religion inspire us with for the Deity. A love of which omnipotent being is ranged under three classes, 1st, A Love of Interest; 2dly, Love of Gratitude; and, 3dly, A Love of Friendship. The love of interest is confounded with the love of ourselves: the love of gratitude arises from the same source with that of interest.

According to what has been already advan-

ced, the love of pure friendship seems then to flourish independent of interest, or of any regard to ourselves. Yet, upon a close enquiry, we shall find that it has the same originating principle with the others; for, in the first place, we are to remark, that this love of pure friendship springs not up all at once in the soul of a man, on his being instructed in the duties of religion: by no means.

The first degree of sanctification is, to detach ourselves from the world: the second is, to love God with a love of interest, by devoting ourselves entirely to him, on account of his being the sovereign good: the third is, to have the gratitude that is due for all the benefits which we receive from him: the last is, to love his perfections.

It is most certain, that the first of these sentiments disposes for the second, the second for the third, and the third for the fourth: but however, as each pre-disposing cause of the last sentimental emotion (which is the most noble of them all) can be made to derive from the love of ourselves, it follows, that this pure friendship, having the Deity for its object, is not entirely independent of the last-mentioned love.

Moreover, we know by experience, that even among the attributes of the Deity, we love in a more especial manner those which have a greater affinity with our condition; for example, his clemency more than his justice, his beneficence more than his immensity, &c. Whence are we to assign a reason? From that pure friendship, which has no other object but that of the Deity's perfections, and whose

chief energy is owing to the relationship between those perfections and us.

If the heart of man glowed with a pure friendship for the Deity, that is, were exempt from the love of ourselves, such purified friendship must arise from his perfections being known, and not from our personal affections. Although this reasoning seems plausible, it falls to the ground; since we are informed, that the demons know the perfections of God, without loving them.

Do not even many mortals, before their conversion to a religious life, know the perfections of the Deity? Yet nobody will dare to advance, that in their foregone sinful state they could have been actuated by that affection which is called pure friendship. We must therefore conclude, that some other requisite is to be sought besides a knowledge of the Deity's perfections, to beget this species of love.

While we contemplate the Deity as our judge, and as a terrible one too, that waits for our coming with the thunder in his hand, we may indeed be struck with a sense of admiration at his infinite perfections; but we cannot conceive an affection for them. It is very certain too, that, if we could restrain the sense of admiration for the Deity, we should have done it. Whence comes this inevitable necessity of admiring the Deity? Because this admiration arises from a perfection known. If then it can be conceived that man's pure friendship for the Deity has the same source, we may thence infer, that such pure friendship arises in his soul in a like manner to that of admiration.

I. From the implanted necessity which we are under of loving ourselves, it obviously follows, that we have certain duties, which can relate to nobody but to ourselves: yet these duties relative to ourselves may in general be reduced to two heads; 1st, The attaining of our happiness; 2dly, The attaining of our perfection: the latter consists in making our will act in a strict conformity with the general order; the former consists in the enjoyment of pleasures, the solid licit pleasures which are capable of contenting a mind created for a possession of the sovereign good.

II. The perfection of the mind consists chiefly in acting in conformity with order; for the man who loves order preferably to every thing else, is virtuous: he who proves amenable and obedient to virtue in every occurrence, fulfils the sum of his duty; and that man merits solid happiness, who sacrifices his pleasure to order.

III. It is not a virtue, but a necessity in man, to seek for happiness; for the desire of being happy is quite independent of us; but every virtue is free. Self-love, strictly speaking, is an inherent quality, which we can neither increase nor diminish. We cannot cease loving ourselves; but we can cease loving ourselves improperly. We may, by the impulse of an enlightened self-love, that is supported by faith and hope, and conducted by charity, sacrifice the possession of present to the prospect of future pleasures; make ourselves wretched for a time, in order to be happy during eternity: for grace destroys not nature.

The sinner and the just man are equally in pursuit of happiness: they are both alike in quest of the fountain from which felicity flows; but with this difference: the just man suffers himself to be neither deceived, nor corrupted, by flattering appearances; whereas the sinner, blinded by his passion, forgets God, his punishments and rewards, nay, misemploys every impression from the Deity to pursue the only true good, in running after its phantoms.

IV. Our self-love then, assisted by grace, is the motive that unites us to the Deity as to our good, and subjects us to reason as to our law, or the model of our perfection; but we must not convert our end or motive into our law. We must truly and sincerely love order, and unite ourselves to God by reasoning, instead of wishing that order should bend itself to our will; because that is not possible. Order being immutable and necessary, we ought to hate all deviations from it, and regulate all the movements of our hearts by that of order; and even at the former's risk we are to vindicate the honour of order, when trespassed against, or at least submit ourselves with humility to divine chastisement; for the man, who could wish that God should not punish injustice or drunkenness, loves not God; and although, through the energy of his self-love instructed, he would not be guilty of a robbery, or of drunkenness, yet cannot he be called a just man.

V. It is manifest from this doctrine, 1st, That self-love must be enlightened, in order to excite us to virtue; 2dly, That we must never yield blindly to the instigation of self-love; 3dly, That, by adhering to order inviolably,

we embrace the most solid method of contenting f f-love; and, finally, that God being the cause of our pleasures, we ought to submit ourselves to his law, and labour at acquiring perfection.

VI. Now learn the means of acquiring perfection, as well as of cultivating an habitual and prevailing love of order. We must, in the first place, labour to acquire a force of attention; from which custom we shall soon obtain a strength of mind, that will not let us consent to any thing without sufficient evidence, and thereby will insure to us a freedom of mind. Mankind should be the general, and self the particular, object of our studies, in order to arrive at a perfect knowledge of the whole, and the part. The divine law should be our morning study, and our noon-delight, that we may learn to follow it exactly. In order to humble and look down upon ourselves, we should compare ourselves to order, be ever mindful of divine justice in order to fear it, and keep ourselves upon the watch.

The world seduceth us through the medium of our senses, and perplexes our reason with phantasms of the imagination. It hurrieth us onwards, and precipitates us into the greatest misfortunes by the misrule of our passions. We must therefore break off the dangerous commerce we have with it through the mediation of our bodily organs, if we are desirous of strengthening the union we are in with God through the agency of our reason.

We mean not by this advice, that we have a right either to commit suicide, or to ruin our health: for our body belongs not to us; it be-

longs to God, to the state, to our family, to our friends. We ought to preserve it in its vigour, according to the services we are obliged to put it to; but we are not to preserve it against the order of God, and at the expence of other men: we must expose it when the safety of the state requires it; and we must not be afraid to weaken, injure, or even to destroy it, to execute the orders of God. We chuse not to enter into a detail concerning those particulars; because our sole view was, to unfold general principles, according to which all persons are obliged to steer their conduct, in order to arrive at the wished-for harbour of repose and happiness.

Love, or Cupid, is a God of the Pagan mythology, whose birth has been related in an hundred different manners, and who has been represented in an hundred different shapes, and all with equal propriety. Love is ever in want of something; therefore Plato called him the Son of Poverty. Because he loves trouble and perplexity, Hesiod and others say he is the Child of Chaös. From his being a mixture of sublime sentiments and gross desires perhaps it was, that Sapho called him the Son of Heaven and of Earth.

It seems not at all impossible, that Simonides had in view the compound of strength and weakness in the conduct of lovers, when he called him the Son of Mars and Venus. According to Alcmaëon, he was the child of Flora and Zephyrus, the symbols of beauty and inconstancy.

Some paint him with a fillet before his eyes, to shew his blindness; others, with a finger

on his lips, to intimate how desirous he is of discretion in lovers; others give him wings, as the emblems of levity and fickleness; a bow, as the mark of power; a lighted torch, as the type of activity.

In some poets he is represented as a Deity; that is, a friend to peace, concord, and all the virtues: in other places, as a cruel God, and the father of all the vices. In truth, Love, or Cupid, is all that is ascribed to him, according to the different hearts in which he reigns; nay, he has often several of these characteristics, one succeeding to the other in the same being. There are lovers, whose behaviour proves him to us to be one moment the child of heaven, and another that of hell. Love is sometimes represented in this manner;---as holding a butterfly by the wings, which he delights to torture, and at last tears it to pieces. The meaning of this allegory is too obvious to need any comment, or illustration.



A M U L E T

IS the name given to an image or figure of something, which people carry, hung about their neck, or close to some other part of the body, as a preservative from diseases and witch-craft. The Latins called such devices *Amolimenta*, *quia mala amoliri dicebantur*, because it was pretended that they had the virtue of keeping off distempers; and thence was derived the word *Amoleta*, from which we have inherited that of *Amulet*.

The Romans designed them also by another name, *Phylacteria*, Phylacteries; and did not doubt, but that the athlets, who carried them, either proved victorious over their antagonists, or were protected by their virtue from the power of any charms which the other might have about them.

The Jews in like manner attributed the same virtues to those phylacteries, or slips of parchment, which they affected to carry about them, through the false interpretation of a precept, commanding them to have always before their eyes the law of God; thereon to meditate, and live practically up to its spirit.

The Latins give them another name, viz. *Præfiscini*, signifying preservatives against fascination; and for this effect, they were hung about the necks of children. They were made of amber and coral, representing obscene and other figures. Even the Christians have not been free from this kind of superstition, since St. John Chryostom reproacheth his contemporaries for having employed charms, carrying about them pieces of gold representing Alexander the Great, and other frivolous contrivances that were revered by them as preservatives. Such ridiculous practices were condemned by Constantine, and by several councils, particularly by that of Tours, held under Charlemagne, which sovereign prohibits them also in his Capitularies.

Delrio relates, that in the army of Reistres, which under the reign of Henry III. penetrated into France; (Baron de Dhona their commander) and was defeated by the Duke de

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Guise at Vimori, and at Auneau, upon almost every soldier, who lay stretched in the field of battle, amulets were found by the victorious party on stripping them.

The vulgar in France are not yet entirely weaned from a faith in particular branches of coral, and other vegetables, which they hang about the necks of children, and which are esteemed by them as preservatives from the cold and other disorders.

The Arabians, as well as the Turks, have an implicit belief in talismans and amulets; the negroes call them *gris-gris*: they consist of passages taken from the Alcoran, and written in small characters on paper or parchment. Sometimes, instead of these passages, the Mahometans carry about them particular stones, to which they attribute great virtues. The Dervises (their clergy) sell these baubles to them at a very dear rate; so dupe them with promises of wonderful effects that never happen: and although experience should have undeceived them, they still buy on; ever imagining that there was no want of virtue in the charm, but that the fault was solely on their side, in having omitted some essential practice or circumstance. Not satisfied with carrying amulets about themselves, they have some too about the necks of their horses, inclosed in leathern purses; which they say protect them from the bad effects of malign and envious eyes.

The Provençals call them *cervelani*, whereby they appear to be in the same error, whether they had brought this superstition with them from the East, which they frequented for

the sake of commerce, or got it from the Spaniards, who had received it from the Moors or Arabians, and that were masters of their country for several centuries. The Chevalier d'Arvieux, from whom we have borrowed this account, tells us, that the Arabian horses, which were made presents of to him by some of the Emirs, had amulets about their necks, of which they boasted the virtue, and earnestly entreated him not to suffer them to be taken off, unless he should have a mind to see them all perish soon after.

The council of Laodicea forbids ecclesiastics (with the menace of being degraded) from carrying about them any sort of amulets or phylacteries. St. Chrysostom and St. Jerom were very zealous in abolishing so ridiculous a custom. Now-a-days amulets are out of vogue, and have entirely lost their credit: yet not long since, the celebrated Mr. Boyle alledged them in proof, to establish, by the considerable effluvia that must pass from such remedies into the human body, how porous the latter is, and how easy to be penetrated. He declares himself a partizan of such mysterious applications, and that several possess the virtues ascribed to them.---He quotes his own case as an instance; for that, having been formerly very subject to a bleeding of the nose, after several remedies being employed to no purpose, he had recourse to the powder made of a human cranium that proved efficacious, and whose form of application was, that it should be laid on the skin until it grew warm.

Relative to this subject, Zwelferus, learned

a very extraordinary anecdote from the chief physician of Moravia, viz. that having prepared some trochisks made of toads, according to the manner prescribed by Vanhelmont; he had occasion to observe, that, carried as amulets by himself, his friends, and his domestics, they not only preserved them all from the plague, but, being applied to the sore parts of those already infected, in some they diminished the pain considerably, and cured others radically.

The above-mentioned Mr. Boyle takes upon him to demonstrate how emanations, that escape even from cold amulets, are capable of penetrating into the pores of living animals, by supposing an analogy between the pores of their skin and the figures of the corpuscles. Belini too has endeavoured all he could to prove the possibility of an introduction of the corpuscles, emaning from amulets, through the pores of the human body. See his last proposition about fevers. *De Febribus.*

In the works of some ancient physicians are several descriptions of such sort of medicines, which are now from time to time revived into practice by empirics and women, besides other credulous and superstitious persons.



A N G E L S

ARE allowed to exist by every system of religion, although our natural reason cannot prove wherefore. The Jews believed them, founded upon Revelation: we must

except the Sadduceans ; not the whole sect ; for a part of them, the Samaritan and Carait Jews, denied not their existence, as appears from Buyard, author of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch, and from the commentary of Aaron, a Carait Jew, upon that book. These two works may even now be found among the manuscripts of the [French] king's library.

Christianity adopted the same doctrine ; but the ancient fathers have been divided about the nature of angels ; some indeed, such as Tertullian, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, &c. giving them bodies, but very subtle ones ; and other fathers, such as St. Basil, St. Athanasius, St. Cyril, St. Gregory, St. Chrysostom, &c. looking upon them as pure spiritual beings ; which is now the sense of the church.

The ecclesiastic writers divide the angels into three hierarchies, and each hierarchy into three orders. The first hierarchy consists of Seraphims, Cherubims, and the Thrones ; the second comprehends the Denominations, Virtues, and the Powers ; and the last is composed of the Principalities, the Arch-Angels, and the Angels.

By the word Angel is particularly understood a spirit of the ninth and last order of the heavenly choirs, and is now employed as a name common to all blessed spirits.

The Christians believe, that all the angels were at first created holy and perfect ; that several have since fallen from that state, through their own pride ; that they have been hurled down to hell, there to suffer eternal torment ; that others were confirmed in grace, and con-

frequently enjoy eternal happiness. The latter are called the *Good Angels*, or, simply, *Angels*; and it is believed that God has given to every one of us a guardian angel. But the former are called the *Bad Angels*, or *Devils*, or *Demons*. By the Jews they are called *Satans*, or *Enemies*; because they tempt mankind, and drive them on to evil.

Theologists have debated many questions, more curious than useful, about the number, the order, the faculties, and the nature of angels; which can never be decided either by scripture or tradition.

In the Apocalypse the title of *angel* is given to the pastors of several churches: for instance, the bishop of Ephesus is therein styled *the Angel of the church of Ephesus*; the bishop of Smyrna, is called *the Angel of the church of Smyrna*, &c. Mr. Du Cange remarks, that in former times the title of *angel* was given to some popes, and to some bishops, on account of their eminent piety.

The pagan philosophers, the Platonists especially, as well as the poets, admitted of middle spiritual beings, between God and man, who had a share in the government of the world. These they called *Demons*, or *Genii*, and adopted two classes of them, the one good, and the other wicked. Saint Cyprian discusses at large upon them in his treatise against the vanity of idols; as have also some other christian authors since Lactantius.

The Alcoran makes frequent mention of good and wicked angels, which the Mussulmen divide into three different classes; assign-

ing to them different employments in heaven, and on earth. They particularly attribute a great power to the angel Gabriel, which is manifested by his coming down from the highest heaven in an hour, by splitting and overturning a mountain with the single stroke of a feather in his wing. They assert, that the angel Asrael's commission is, to seize on the souls of those who die. They represent another, whom they call Etraphil, as standing in an erect posture with a trumpet applied to his mouth, to announce the day of judgment. Much more surprising extravagances are related by them of two other angels, whom they call Munkir, and Nekir.



ANTE-DILUVIAN PHILOSOPHY.

THAT is, the state the study of nature was in before the deluge. They, who would remount to the very first origin of things, stop not at the first man who was created as an image and a resemblance of the deity; but, as if the earth were not, according to them, worthy of being a cradle for the first philosophy, they soar in quest of it to the heavens, and fix its appearance among the angels, in whose company they shew it to us all brilliant with glory. This opinion seems to have been founded upon what the scripture tells us of the nature and wisdom of angels; for, being of a nature much superior to ours, it followed of course to think they were endowed with a more

perfect knowledge of things than we, and are better philosophers than the limited heirs of mortality.

Some learned men have pushed the matter still farther; for, to prove that the angels excelled in the philosophical knowledge of nature, they took upon them to assert, that God made use of their agency in creating the world, and forming the different creatures that occupy it. This opinion appears obviously to be a sequel of the ideas taken from the doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato. These two philosophers, being very much embarrassed with the infinite space that is between God and man, thought proper to fill it with Demons and Genii: but, as hath been judiciously remarked by Mr. de Fontenelle * in opposition to Plato, with what is the infinite space between God and those Genii to be filled up? Because from God to any created being the distance must be infinite.

And, since the energy of the godhead must traverse, as it were, this infinite void, in order to reach the Demons, it may very well stretch as far as the mortal system; because mankind are removed farther but by some few degrees, that bear no manner of proportion to the first immensity of separation.

When the Deity treats with mankind through the ministry of angels, it is not thereby meant, that they were absolutely necessary for the carrying on of such a communication, as Plato would insinuate: no; God employs them for

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* History of Oracles.

reasons which philosophy will never be able to unravel, and that can be known perfectly but to himself.

Plato's reason for imagining the existence of Demons, was formed on the idea of a ladder, by means whereof, from creatures less perfect to creatures more perfect, he might ascend to the Deity, who consequently could have but some degrees of perfection above the first of mortals. But the error visible here is, that all creatures being infinitely imperfect in comparison with the Deity, because they are placed at an infinite distance from him, the differences of perfection among them vanish into nothingness at the least glance towards a parity with him; for whatever may raise them one above another, approximates them not in the least to him: wherefore, if we consult only with limited human reason, there appears not any necessity of Demons, for either communicating God's energy unto mortals, or placing between God and us a range of beings qualified to approach nearer to him than we ourselves are.

But, if the good angels, who are the ministers of the will of God, and of his messages to mankind, are enriched with a plenitude of philosophical knowledge, why is the same privilege refused to the bad angels? Their reprobation has caused no change in the excellence of their nature, or in the perfection of their knowledge; a proof of which is immediately deducible from astrology, augurs, and soothsayers. It was to the dint of a very subtile and refined logic, that the Demon, who tempted our first parents, owed his victory over them.

There have been even some fathers of the church, who, misled by Platonic reveries, have gone so far as to assert, that many reprobated spirits have taught those mortals, whom they had been able to seduce, and enter into a commerce with, several secrets of nature relating to metallurgy, the virtue of plants, the power of enchantments, and the art of reading in heaven the destiny of mankind.

It would be an affront to all sensible readers to misemploy time here in defeating all the wretched arguments that have been urged in proof of angels and demons being not only philosophers, but very great adepts. Let us therefore say no more about the philosophy of the inhabitants of heaven, and of the infernal regions; it is too far above our reach: but let us confine ourselves to that which is proper for man, and more within the sphere of his capacity.

Was Adam, the first of men, a philosopher? It is a fact, of which many people have not the least doubt; for, according to what Hornius tells us, we are to believe that Adam before his fall had a mind cultivated with all the good qualities, and every department of knowledge, that could contribute to render him perfect; and that even since his fall they were not absolutely obliterated, but that some faint vestiges remained.

The remembrance of what he had lost being ever present to his thought, kindled in his heart an intense desire of recovering the advantage of knowledge which sin had cancelled, and of emerging, if possible, from the darkness

into which he found himself plunged. In order to satisfy that desire, he applied himself, during life, to investigate nature and all her secrets; that, by a progressive discovery of them, he might by degrees attain to the most sublime branches of knowledge. It is also to be believed, that he did not permit his children, with whom he lived for so considerable a time, to remain ignorant of his discoveries: such is the chain of reasoning instituted by Doctor Hornius. Here too we might join the erudition of the Jewish doctors, were it not that the fables which they have uttered are unworthy of any serious attention.

We chuse to subjoin however, from the same Doctor Hornius, a few more arguments of equal weight with these quoted above, to prove Adam's being a philosopher, and of the first class too; for, had he not been so, how could he have given names to all the animals that were brought before him, and names too, which to many people seem to be expressive of their very nature?

Hence it is, that Eusebius infers a proof of Adam's being a logician: and as for his skill in mathematics, there is not the least room for any person to doubt, who reflects how he made his cloaths of the skins of beasts, built for himself a house, observed the motion of the stars, regulated the year, and the course of the sun: but the ultimate and decisive proof insisted on for Adam's having been a consummate philosopher, is, that he wrote books; and that they are abundantly fraught with all those branches of elevated science, to which he had

attained by a continuance of indefatigable study. It is true, that the books attributed to him are apocryphal, or lost: but that is no material objection here; because these supposed books have been given to Adam, by the same tradition that preserved the authenticated title of those books, which he is said to have really composed.

These reasons are very easily defeated. All that has been said of Adam's knowledge before his fall, has not the least analogy with philosophy, as we understand the word; for Adam's consisted in another species of wisdom, an immediate acquaintance with the Deity himself, and every thing practicable to conduct him to that happiness for which he was born: but what has this in common with the philosophy which is produced by curiosity and admiration, the children of ignorance; and that is acquirable but by laborious study, and the conflict of different opinions?

The philosophy, which Adam brought into the world with him, is that divine wisdom which is the effect of grace, and that God often irradiates the least cultivated minds with. Now, though in one sense this is *the* philosophy by excellence, yet in another it is very different from that which the human intellects have invented, and to the enlarging of whose bounds so many centuries have concurred.

If Adam then, in his state of innocence, had no philosophy, because he did not stand in need of any; what is become of that attributed to him after his fall, and which was looked upon but as a feeble emanation of the former? How

could it be imagined that Adam, persecuted as he was by a remorse for his transgression, and whose time was solely taken up in reflexion, how he might calm the wrath of an incensed Deity, and shelter himself from the miseries that besieged him, could have a mind sufficiently tranquil to amuse itself with the unprofitable speculations of a vain philosophy?

Are we to conclude, from his having given names to animals, that he knew their nature and qualities? And because he must have occasionally reasoned with Eve, our common mother, as well as with his children, are we thence to pronounce him a consummate logician? At this rate mankind in general might be declared proficient in the dialectic art.

Adam built for himself a mean cot, governed his family with prudence, instructed them in the several moral duties, and taught them a religious worship; but are even these facts sufficient to prove him an architect, a politician, and a divine?

How could it come into people's heads to assert Adam's having been the inventor of letters; when it is very well known that mankind, for a long time after the deluge, made use of none other but hieroglyphic writing, the most imperfect of all, and the first effort of human intellects to reciprocally communicate their gross conceptions? Hence it appears how very open to contradiction is the learned and ingenious author of the critical history of philosophy, concerning its origin and progress. According to him, it was born with the world, and in direct opposition to the ordinary course of human in-

ventions. No disparagement or disgrace can be reflected on it from its cradle; since, from amidst all its infant weakness and stammering efforts, there escaped at times bold and surprising strokes, tending to a sort of perfection.

There is no doubt, but mankind, from the first æra of their existence, have thought, reflected, and meditated. How indeed could they have avoided it, since at all times the splendid and magnificent spectacle which this universe presents, and that is still the more interesting the more attentively it is studied, must have awakened their curiosity?

An answer to this purport may be thrown in here: If Admiration be the mother of Philosophy, she was not born with the world; because it was necessary that men should have learned to admire before they proceeded to philosophising: but for such a process, some time was necessary both in the making of experiments, and in the forming of reflexions thereon. Moreover, is it to be imagined, that the first men could have found leisure time sufficient for exercising their minds with philosophical systems; they, who could scarcely find out the means of living somewhat comfortably? The wants of the body must be first satisfied, before we can think about satisfying those of the mind: wherefore the first race of mortals, by their very situation, must have been far remote from any desire of philosophical pursuits. The miracles of nature are exposed to the eyes of mankind, a long time before they are properly stored with a rational stock for judiciously scrutinising into their excellence.

If we had come into the world, endowed with the same quantity of reason as that with which we repair to the opera-house for the first time, where, on seeing the curtain suddenly drawn up, we are struck with the grandeur and magnificence that are displayed before us, as well as with the shifting of the decorations, and are not able to restrain our curiosity from seeking information, and entering into the truth of all that has passed before us; the same would have happened in the above case. But who is surprised at objects seen for fifty years? Besides, the generality of mankind being occupied about their several arts, professions and employments, very few among them could find time to devote themselves to metaphysical speculations. It sufficed for them to know that the rising of the sun called people up to work: the most beautiful and pleasing night proved to them but a dumb monitor, informing them to go to rest; while others, less occupied, either through an habitual indolence, never troubled themselves about asking nature any questions, or, when they fortuitously did so, had not sense enough to comprehend her answer.

It was the true genius of philosophy, that, shaking off custom's dull yoke, first expressed its wonder and astonishment at the natural beauties with which we are environed. It carefully examined, and cautiously accounted with itself for every phænomenon; but a long time elapsed, before things could be brought to that point; nor has it yet perhaps been ever able to see its opinions in that state of universal credit, it could wish them to be.

Now, if Adam had not this philosophic genius, it follows of course that we may deny his sons Abel and Cain having had it. There is but George Hornius alone, among all the learned, who could discover in Cain the founder of a philosophical sect. Our readers would, no doubt, be not a little surprised to hear that Cain sowed the first seeds of Epicurism; and that he was an atheist. The reasons of Hornius on this score are very singular.

According to him, Cain was a philosopher, and a very wicked one; nay, an atheist too; because he loved pleasure, and because his children closely followed their father's example in the paths of voluptuousness. If people are to be called Epicureans, because they listen to the voice of pleasure, and seek in an appearance of practical atheism the impunity of their crimes, it is imagined that the gardens of Epicurus would not be sufficient to contain so numerous a tribe of sensual philosophers.

What he says about Cain's building a city, and the instruments employed by him in tilling the earth, affords not a better proof of his having been a philosopher; because whatever conveniences men may have been induced to find out by their two first tutoresses, Necessity and Experience, they are no way indebted for them to precepts of philosophy: besides, may we not believe that God had taught the first man how to till the earth, as he since has instructed his progeny?

The envious Cain, having been guilty of the first act of homicide on the person of his brother Abel, God made the innocent victim

to be revived in Seth; and it was in his family that the sacred deposits of the first traditions concerning religion were preserved. The favourers of Ante-diluvian philosophy look upon Seth not only as a philosopher, but also in their sense as an astronomer; and Josephus, in making an eulogium of the various knowledge of which the children of Seth were possessed before the deluge, says they erected two columns to write the whole thereon, in order to transmit it to posterity.

One of these columns was made of brick, the other of stone: no pains were spared to build them substantially solid, that they might be able to resist the inundations and conflagrations, with which the world was menaced. Josephus farther adds, that the column of brick was subsisting in his time.

We take not upon us to determine what degree of belief is to be given to this passage; because the quoted historian loves to deal in exaggeration and hyperbole, whenever the glory of his nation is in question; he having it chiefly in view to prove the superiority of the Jews over the Gentiles in every matter relating to the arts and sciences; and that partial disposition probably gave rise to this fiction of the two columns built by the descendants of Seth; for what probability is there, that such a monument could have subsisted after the general devastation which had been caused by the deluge?

Another article, equally perplexing in this affair, is, that Moses, who makes mention of the arts that were invented by the children of Cain, such as music, metallurgy, the art of

working iron; brass, &c. gives not the most distant hint of any great knowledge in astronomy, which Seth might have acquired; or of his being the inventor of writing, or of his giving names to the stars, or of dividing the year into months and weeks.

It is not however to be received as a truth, that Jubal, and Tubalcain, were great philosophers; the one, for having invented music; the other, for having possessed the secret of working iron and brass. Perhaps these two men perfected only what had been discovered before their time: but let them even be supposed the inventors of those arts; what can be thence concluded in regard to philosophy? Are we not all conscious, that most of the arts useful to society were discovered by chance? Philosophy afterwards stepped in, to examine what might be the drift, spirit, and tendency of them.

It is happy for us, that chance hath been before-hand in providing for our wants, and hath scarce left any thing for philosophy to procure: of which we do not find more tracks in the family of Seth, than in that of Cain. It is true indeed, that there we see men careful in preserving a knowledge of the true God, and the deposit of the primitive traditions; who moreover employed their time in serious and solid occupations, such as tilling the earth, and taking care of their flocks: all which can be done without philosophy, whose origin therefore, and the first progress made therein, we seek in vain, and to no purpose, in the time that preceded the deluge.



A R E O P A G U S.

THE senate of Athens was so called from a hill, contiguous to the citadel of that city, which was consecrated to Mars, because, according to fabulous reports, that God, accused of having murdered the son of Neptune, was absolved in this place by the judges of Athens. Greece has not had a tribunal of greater fame: its members were chosen from among the citizens; they were distinguished for their merits, integrity, birth, and fortune; and their equity was so universally acknowledged, that all the states of Greece appealed to the Areopagites in their debates, and rested content in their decision.

This court was the first invested with a right of life and death. It seems however, by the spirit of its first institution, that this right extended only to assassins; but it has since taken cognizance of incendiaries, conspirators, desertors, and finally of all capital crimes, founded upon the good opinion prevailing in the state of the gravity and integrity of the members of this body.

Solon entrusted them with the management of the public revenue, and a superintendency over the education of youth; to which charge is annexed the salutary care of punishing debauchery and idleness, and of rewarding industry and sobriety. All matters of religion came under the inspection of the Areopagites. It

was a part of their duty to see that no crimes against it escaped with impunity, nor blasphemy against the Gods.

On their deliberation depended the consecrating of new divinities, the erecting of new temples and altars, and every innovation to be adopted in the public worship: nay, it was their chief function; for they never meddled with the administration of public affairs, but when the state, alarmed with the greatness of imminent dangers, applied for succour to the wisdom of the Areopagus, as its last resource.

This corps preserved its authority down to the time of Pericles, who, as he could not be admitted an Areopagite, on account of his not having been an archon, employed all his power and interest to sink this body; and what very much co-operated to his purpose, was, that the vicious irregularities, with which Athens was at that time corrupted, had their partisans in the Areopagus, which lost to them by degrees the public estimation, as well as the power they had been entrusted with.

Authors do not agree as to the number of judges that composed the Areopagus. Some fix it to thirty; others, to fifty-one; and others, to five hundred. This last opinion cannot be allowed, but during the time while that tribunal, fallen into disrepute, admitted indifferently Greeks and strangers; for, according to Cicero's account, even Romans had been received into that body, or else the term Areopagites has been confounded with that of Prytani.

It is proved by the Arundel marbles, that the Areopagus subsisted nine hundred and forty years before Solon; but as that tribunal had been humbled by Draco, and Solon afterwards restored it to its former splendor, this hath given room to the mistake of some authors, who have looked upon Solon as the founder of the Areopagus.

The Areopagites held their audiences in open air, and judged only by night, in the view, as Lucian says, of being engaged only by the reasons, and not the figures, of those who spoke.

They looked upon the eloquence of advocates as a very dangerous talent; however, their original severity in this point relaxed by degrees. But they obstinately persevered to exclude from all pleadings whatever tended to move the passions, or to depart from the main point in question; in which two circumstances an herald imposed silence upon the advocates.

The suffrages of this tribunal were given in silence, by putting a small kind of stones, black or white, into the urns; one of which was made of brass, and called *the Urn of Death*; the other was made of wood, and called *the Urn of Pity*.

The suffrages were afterwards counted; and, according as the whites or blacks prevailed, the judges drew a line, longer or shorter, with their nail, on a tablet covered with wax. The short line signified a dismissal of the accused; but the long implied condemnation.

Areopagite meant one of the judges of the

Areopagus. The picture that has been transmitted to us of those wonderful personages, and the good order they established in Athens, by Socrates, is as follows.---The judges, according to him, employed their thoughts not about the manner of punishing crimes; but that of inspiring such an aversion for them, that none, or very few persons, could be induced to commit any. It was the business of enemies, said they, to punish the crimes, but it was theirs to correct the morals of the people.

They extended their generous and patriotic concern to every rank of citizens, but in a more especial manner to the youth of each: for, not being ignorant of the violent attacks, with which the passions, at their first breaking out, are wont to agitate their tender years, they thought the best way to divert such an impetuosity from bad effects, would be by so moulding a form of education, as that the austerity of it should be tempered with a proper alliance of pleasure; which salutary scheme can be answered no where so well, as in a cultivation of those exercises in which there is a mixture of toil and pleasure, and whose continued practice can never prove disagreeable to liberal minds.

The inequality of fortune amongst individuals was too considerable for them to undertake, prescribing the same rules indiscriminately to all. They therefore proportioned the instruction and the obedience expected, to the situation and faculties of each family. The less opulent they advised to apply themselves to agriculture and commerce, from this max-

im, that Idleness is the mother of Poverty, as the latter is of the greatest crimes. Having thus torn up, as it were, the roots of the greatest evils, they concluded that they had nothing more to fear. Bodily exercises, such as riding, hunting, &c. with the study of philosophy, fell to the lot of those blest with more ample fortunes. By so wise a dispensation, their leading view was to prevent the poor from committing enormous crimes, and to facilitate, for the rich, the road of acquiring virtue.

Not satisfied with having established such useful laws, they stretched their paternal care still farther; and that was, to see them duly observed: wherefore the city was divided into several quarters, and the country belonging to it, into several cantons; so that every thing passed in a manner under their eyes. They received minute information of all private transactions. All trespassers against the laws were summoned before the magistrates, who proportioned their reprimands, or punishment, to the quality of the faults, of which the impleaded were found guilty.

A part of the Areopagites duty was, to prevail on the rich to assist the poor, and to keep within due bounds the intemperance of youth, through the energy of an exact discipline. The avarice of magistrates, from a terror of the punishments always ready to be inflicted on such delinquency, was unknown among them. Old men were roused up to shake off that indolence and lethargy, into which years are wont to plunge them, at the offer of employment, and the respect paid to them by the

young. These venerable judges had nothing else at heart, but to render their fellow citizens still better men, and the republic more flourishing. So disinterested were they, that they received nothing, or what was but of little value, for their assisting at public judgments: so unshaken was their integrity, that they failed not to render an exact account of their conduct, to the public censors appointed between them and the people, for the preventing of the aristocracy becoming too formidable.---However broken with age, and bent down by years, they might have been, while practicable, they never declined assisting in the judicial assemblies on the hill, although there exposed to all the injuries of the air.

All their decisions breathed the spirit of the strictest justice, the most interesting whereof are the following. 1st, That given in favour of Mars, as above. 2dly, That which absolved Orestes from the murder of his mother, through the protection of Minerva: she gave her suffrage on the side of those favourable to him, and who were equal in number to those for condemning him. 3dly, Cephalus, for the murder of his wife Procris; and, 4thly, Dædalus, for having assassinated his sister's son, were both condemned by this tribunal.

Some ancient authors pretend, that Saint Denis, the first bishop of Athens, had been an Areopagite, and that he was converted to christianity by Saint Paul's preaching before those judges. Many more have since confounded Denis the Areopagite with Saint Denis the first bishop of Paris.



A S T R O L O G Y

IS the art of foretelling future events, by the aspects, positions, and influences, of the heavenly bodies: it is divided into two branches, Natural astrology, and Judiciary astrology. Natural astrology is the art of predicting natural events, such as the changes of the weather, and of the winds; the coming of storms, tempests, thunder, inundations, earthquakes, &c.

It is to this branch that Goad, an English writer, has confined himself in a work of two volumes, entitled *Astrology*. He pretends, that a study of the stars may lead us to a knowledge of future inundations, and various other phænomena. In consequence of this notion, he endeavours to account for the diversity of seasons, by the different situations and movements of the planets, by their retrogradations, as well as by the number of the stars that compose a constellation, &c.

Natural astrology is, properly speaking, a branch of physics, or of natural philosophy; and the art of predicting natural events, is but a sequel, *à posteriori*, of phænomena, and observations thereon.

It is certain that moisture, heat, cold, &c. (qualities which nature employs in producing two very important effects, condensation and rarefaction) depend entirely on the revolu-

tionary movements, and the varied situations, &c. of the heavenly bodies. It is equally true, that every planet must have a light peculiar to it, distinct from that of every other body, and which is not only an inherently visible quality therein, but is moreover the cause of its being endowed with a specified virtue.

The sun, as we know, not only enlightens all the planets, but makes them also grow warm, through his primordial heat, animates them, puts them in motion, and communicates to them properties particular to each. But this not at all; his rays take a kind of tincture upon their surface, and being thus new modified as it were, they are reflected to the various parts of the universe, but more especially to the parts nearest to each planetary world.

Wherefore, according to the more or less considerable aspect, which the planets have with the solar orb, determinable by the degree in which they are illuminated, the more or less obliquity in which they receive his rays, the more or less distance in which they are stationed from him, and the different situations which they are in relative to him; his rays are consequently imbibed with more or less of their virtue; participate more or less of their effects; and take on them, if we may be allowed the expression, a more or less lively tincture; whence this borrowed virtue, its effects, and even this tincture, prove occasionally more or less energetic on all sublunary beings.

Judiciary astrology, to which is properly given the name of Astrology, is the pretended

art of foretelling, through the stars, *moral events* before they happen. By *moral events*, we mean those that depend on the will and free actions of man. How then can the stars have any authority thereon, or they be directed by them?

The professors of this art pretend that heaven is a great book, in which the Deity has written, with his own hand, the history of the world; and wherein every man may read his destiny. They insist also, that their art is coeval with astrology; and thus do they attempt to support their vain opinion: The ancient Assyrians, enjoying a sky, whose beauty and serenity were so favourable to astronomical observations, studied the movements and periodical revolutions of the heavenly bodies; between which and the terrestrial they remarked a constant analogy: whence they concluded, that the stars were in reality the fates or destiny so much spoken of; that they preside at the birth of mortals, and dispose of their future existence.

Thus did astrologers defend the antiquity of their art in former times. As for the present meddlers therein, to whom we apply that title, their chief employment is, to make Almanacks and Calendars.

Judiciary astrology is supposed to have taken its rise in Chaldea; thence travelled into Egypt, Greece, and Italy. Some authors find its birth in Egypt, and attribute the invention of it to Cham. The Europeans have received it from the Arabians. The old Romans were so infatuated with it, that notwithstanding the many edicts granted by the emperors against mathe-

maticians and astrologers, (for so the adepts in this art were promiscuously called) they maintained their credit with that people.

The Bramins introduced this pretended art amongst the Indians, and openly practised it, declaring themselves the distributors of future good and evil. They usurped an amazing authority over the people: they were consulted as oracles, and gave no answer without a good fee; so the fathers of imposition in all times, and all nations, love to make the believing herd pay dear for the lies that are related to them.

Another name, given to this art by the ancients, was that of *Apotelesmatic Astrology*, or *the Barbaric Sphere*, on account of its superstitious pretensions to know future events by means of the stars. The Jews, notwithstanding their religion, gave into this folly; nor were the Christians quite free from it.

The modern Greeks have carried it to the last extravagance; and scarcely an author of theirs is to be found, who does not upon every occasion talk of foretelling by means of the stars, horoscopes, talismans, &c. Nay, if they are to be credited, there is not a column, statue, or edifice in Constantinople, or in all Greece, but what has been erected according to the rules of *Apotelesmatic Astrology*; and from this word they have derived that of *Talisman*.

France, in the last centuries, hath been infected with the same superstition. We learn from her historians, that judiciary astrology was so much in vogue under Catharine de Medicis, that nothing great or important was un-

dertaken without previously consulting the stars. In the courts of Henry the third, and Henry the fourth, nothing was heard scarcely, but the predictions of astrologers.

Barclay, in the second book of his *Argenis*, seizes the occasion of making an ingenious satyr on the shameful prejudice that prevailed then, in favour of so flagrant an imposture; and from this incident,---An astrologer undertook to foretell, to king Henry, the event of a he was menaced with by the faction of the duke de Guise.

“Thou takest upon thee to affirm,” says Barclay, “pretended foreteller of futurity, that the different events, whether happy or the reverse, which happen in the life of man, depend on the influence of those stars that presided at the hour of his birth. Thou ownest indeed, on the other hand, that the course of the heavenly bodies is so rapid, that one instance suffices to change the disposition of the stars. How can we reconcile matters here? For since this rapid movement, which escapes conception, irresistibly hurries on with it all the heavenly bodies, as well as the promises and menaces thereto annexed; must not a change be caused in the latter, by a difference of situation in the former? For thou canst not know (yet such a knowledge thou sayest is necessary) under what stars exactly a person is born. Thou canst not think that the first attention of midwives, at the birth of a child, is to consult all the neighbouring clocks, and to mark down the minutes with a scrupulous exactness, in

“ order to preserve his patrimonial right,
“ as it were, of stars to the new-born.

“ Let us suppose the feasibility of such a
“ practice: yet how many, by strength of rea-
“ son and education, disregard so superstitious
“ a custom! But I will grant, for argument
“ and information sake, that the critical mo-
“ ment of a child's birth has been studied: the
“ child may not appear true to the touch, but
“ be delayed, in the passage to life, by several
“ intervening circumstances, to a farther time.
“ Moreover, the dial-plates are not always of
“ the strictest nicety; and clocks, however excel-
“ lent, are liable to variations from too great
“ a driness or humidity of the season. Who
“ then can take upon themselves to assert, that
“ the moment which their most careful atten-
“ tion had marked out for the birth of a child,
“ is rigorously correspondent to the star as-
“ signed?

“ I will further suppose the birth true to
“ the moment, and the star that presided, to its
“ situation and influence: yet why, among the
“ numerous host of stars, prefer consulting
“ those only, that ruled while the fruit was but
“ quickening in its mother's womb, rather
“ than those that made their appearance since,
“ while the body's texture, as yet all tender-
“ ness, and the soul, as yet quite ignorant of
“ herself, were preparing, in their prison, to
“ patiently endure the task of life?

“ But in order to wave such difficulties, I
“ agree with the professors of this art, that
“ the state of the heavenly bodies was exactly
“ known at the birth of each person. Why

“ do they make an influential power descend
“ from the stars, not only upon the bodies,
“ but also on the minds of men? Each indi-
“ vidual is consequently to expect his fortune
“ from them, since on their pre-arbitration his
“ life and death depend. Are all those who em-
“ brace a military life, and die in the field of
“ battle, born under the same constellation? It
“ is to be supposed, that a vessel which is to pe-
“ rish in a storm, receives no body on board,
“ seamen or passengers, but people destined,
“ by their inauspicious stars, to perish in that
“ shipwreck: yet experience produceth every
“ day instances of persons, born at very differ-
“ ent times, who engage and fall in the same
“ battle, or who embark and sink in the same
“ ship; among whom, however, there was no-
“ thing either consentaneous, or even common,
“ but the moment of their death.

“ Are all persons, who come into the world
“ under the same disposition of the heavenly
“ bodies, to enjoy a like fortune in this life, and
“ to expire in the same moment? Let us turn
“ to our gracious monarch for example: Do
“ all those born under the same star with him,
“ (and many most certainly there were) for
“ that reason reign over kingdoms? Or are they
“ possessed of riches to make them as happy as
“ kings, in order to prove the benign influence
“ of the stars at their coming into the world?
“ Or is it to be believed that they are all living
“ at this day?

“ Let that distinguished worthy Mr. de
“ Villeroy serve as another example on this
“ occasion: Are all the persons, who were born

“ under the same planet with him, endowed
 “ with the same knowledge? Are they, like
 “ him, honoured with the sovereign favour?
 “ But to bring the argument still closer to my
 “ antagonist, let me be allowed to ask
 “ Pray, are all those, born under the same star
 “ with you, astrologers, to say nothing worse?
 “ Are we to believe, that when a traveller
 “ is murdered by a highway robber, such a
 “ death was inevitable, because the stars had
 “ predestined this victim’s fate by that wretch’s
 “ hand? Then those very stars, which had
 “ pre-doomed this unfortunate traveller, at the
 “ moment of his birth, to be one day exposed
 “ to the knife of an assassin, must also, and
 “ perhaps many years before the birth of the
 “ traveller, have given to the murderer an in-
 “ tention for designing, and a power for exe-
 “ cuting, this bloody design; since, according to
 “ astrological doctrine, the stars concur equally
 “ in the cruelty of the slayer, and the misfor-
 “ tune of the slain.

“ In like manner, if the master of a dwell-
 “ ing happen to be crushed to death under
 “ the ruins of his house; the ridiculous rea-
 “ son assigned is, that it having been settled
 “ by destiny that he was, on a certain day, and
 “ at a certain moment, to be whelmed under
 “ his own house, the walls fell down on pur-
 “ pose to do due honour to the stars. In the
 “ same way are the dignities, though obtained
 “ by the free votes of a people, to be accounted
 “ for: but even, according to the principles of
 “ astrology, can it be said the planet or stars,
 “ that presided at the birth of a person, and

“ predestined his future greatness, could extend
“ their influence so far, as upon the minds of
“ other men not born at that time, upon
“ which however was to depend the effect of
“ their propitious influence?

“ The most probable defence that could be
“ advanced on supposing a reality in the influ-
“ ence of heavenly bodies, is, that as the sun
“ produces different effects on different
“ things of the earth, although his light and
“ rays are the same; whether by warming
“ and cherishing some seeds, by destroying
“ others, by drying up tender herbs, while
“ others more succulent make a more obsti-
“ nate resistance; so it happens to several in-
“ fants born at the same time, who, like to a
“ field, are cultivated in different manners ac-
“ cording to the difference of nature, temper
“ and habit, in those to whom they owe their
“ existence. Wherefore the influential power
“ of the stars, although it be one and the
“ same, for all those children, yet from the
“ reasons assigned, the same effects are not to
“ be expected in all: for if the natural dispo-
“ sition of a child have some affinity with the
“ supposed influential power presiding at his
“ nativity, it will prevail through life; but if
“ contrary, it will not be corrected thereby:
“ so that, in order to form a surer judgment of
“ what may be the character of a child, the
“ stars alone are not to be consulted; but we
“ should have recourse to a knowledge of the mo-
“ ther's constitution in general, of her particu-
“ lar condition during the various stages of her

“ pregnancy, besides many other articles
 “ perhaps out of our reach to know.

“ Let astrologers now answer why this in-
 “ fluential power, which they look upon as
 “ the cause of the happiness or misery of man-
 “ kind, is kept up inactive in heaven until the
 “ time marked arrive for its descending upon
 “ earth, there to set in play those instruments
 “ proper for accomplishing the stars predeter-
 “ mination: or, to put the matter in another
 “ light, why is this pretended influential
 “ power shut up in an infant, to be cherished
 “ and grow up along with him, until the
 “ proper occasion come for exerting itself in
 “ support of the honour of the stars in their
 “ irrevocable decrees?

“ Should they give for answer, that this
 “ power remains in heaven, then is there a
 “ manifest contradiction in their principles:
 “ for, since the happiness or misery of those
 “ who came into the world, depends upon the
 “ manner of the conjunction of the stars at the
 “ moment of their birth, the course of those
 “ very stars seems to have destroyed this first
 “ form, and to have given another quite op-
 “ posite. In what part of heaven must remain
 “ preserved this first power, that is to make
 “ its appearance for the acting of its part many
 “ years after, as when the child shall become
 “ a man of forty years old? To believe, on the
 “ other hand, that destiny, which is not to
 “ produce its effect concerning a child till it
 “ shall have attained to a maturity of years,
 “ remains from infancy to age an imprisoned
 “ inmate, is too ridiculous and absurd in its

“ consequences. What! because, forsooth, he
“ is predestined to perish in a storm at sea; the
“ winds are to be let loose; the sea is to be in
“ a rage; and the pilot, no longer a master of
“ himself, or of his art, is to run upon the
“ shore, or dash his ship upon a rock. The
“ farmer too, according to his ruling stars, is
“ the author of a war, that proves the bane
“ of his industry, or, on the contrary, of a fine
“ season, that is to yield him a plentiful har-
“ vest.

“ The abettors of this imposing art make a
“ boastful parade of some astrologic oracles
“ having been crowned with successful events;
“ but the number (being so limited, in com-
“ parison with the almost infinite multitude
“ which have failed) stepped in as the strongest
“ proof against any reliance to be had thereon.
“ Thus, under the sanction of seven or eight
“ striking instances, and the effects of mere
“ chance, they have smuggled a thousand in-
“ famous lies upon the public. And from
“ their frequent conjectures in this guess-work
“ profession, what we ought really to be asto-
“ nished at is their not hitting the mark
“ oftener.

“ Is it not laughable, that these foreseeing
“ gentry, who undertook to foretell what
“ was to be the fate of Sicily, should have no
“ previous knowledge of what is now hap-
“ pened? They had no information commu-
“ nicated to them from above of my design to
“ cross their views, and expose their tricks.
“ It would have given a great consequence to
“ their art, had they been instructed to repair

“ to the king with notification, that a jealous
 “ individual, who should be at that time in
 “ the royal presence, was wickedly intended
 “ to cause vexation and trouble to them. Let
 “ them now, before they venture to declare
 “ that the king shall triumph over his ene-
 “ mies, say, if he will honour their predic-
 “ tions with the least credit.”

Although judiciary astrology hath been victoriously attacked by Barclay, (from whom we have quoted so largely) as well as other celebrated authors, who have demonstrated its vanity, yet they cannot be said to have entirely rooted out of society so ridiculous an imposture. It holds its ground yet in Italy.

About the end of the twelfth century, an Italian sent to Pope Innocent XI. a prediction, in the form of an horoscope, relating to Vienna, (then besieged by the Turks) which was very favourably received by his holiness. Nay, in our own time, the Count de Boulainvilliers, a man otherwise of very good sense, was so far infatuated in the behalf of judiciary astrology, as to be induced to write very seriously upon so chimerical a subject.

Tacitus informs us, that while Tiberius was exiled at Rhodes, in the reign of Augustus, he used to take a pleasure in consulting with fortune-tellers upon the summit of a very high rock close to the sea; and if from their answer he conceived any surmise of their ignorance or imposture, he gave immediate order to one of his slaves, to hurl them downwards, as a just punishment.

On a certain day, when Tiberius was inter-

rogating on this summit, about futurity, one Thrasyllus, a man famous in his profession, he took care to promise to the prince Rome's imperial sceptre, with every kind of prosperity. In return for so obliging a prediction, the other made this farther question. "Since you are
"so knowing, friend, in what regards me, can
"you tell how long you are to live in this
"world?" Thrasyllus, alarmed with reason, and much perplexed by such a question, whose tendency he very well understood, set about examining, or seemed to examine, (and without change of countenance) the aspect and position of the stars at his birth; but soon after let the prince see a dawn of surprise, followed by a spreading terror on his countenance; and said, that, to the best of his judgment, he was menaced, that very moment, with some imminent danger. Tiberius, charmed with his answer, embraced him, bid him dismiss all fear, looked upon him afterwards as an oracle, and enrolled him among the number of his friends.

We find in the same historian, who was one of the greatest geniuses that ever existed, two passages, which sufficiently prove, that when there is a prevailing prejudice among any people, men of the greatest talents cannot entirely escape from the general infatuation, but are made to sacrifice to it in part, though with a kind of restraint and unwillingness.

The first of these passages is in Book VI. Chap. XXII. where, after having made some reflexions on the different opinions of philosophers relative to astrology, he adds these

words: *Cæterum plerisque mortalium non eximitur, quin primo cujusque ortu ventura destinantur: sed quædam secus, quam dicta sint cadere, fallaciis ignara dicentium; ita corrumpi fidem artis, cujus præclara documenta, et antiqua ætas, et nostra tulerit.* Which may be thus translated.---“It
“is not to be doubted, but that all events, which
“are to befall us in this world, are fixed at
“the moment of our birth; but the ignorance
“of astrologers leads them sometimes to er-
“ror in the predictions which they make to
“us, and thereby disgraces an art, the reality
“of which is clearly proved by the experience
“of this and the preceding ages.”

The other passage is in the fourth book of his Annals. Tiberius being gone from Rome, we learn from Tacitus, that several astrologers foretold he should not return; which prediction caused the ruin of several citizens, who concluded that this prince had but a short time to live, and were indiscreet enough joyfully to propagate their belief; for who could have imagined that Tiberius would live eleven years a voluntary exile, without returning into Rome? But the historian adds, that at the expiration of this period, it appeared obviously to every understanding, how slender the partitions are, which in the skilfulness of predicting separate the art from chimeras, and under what thick clouds truth is often obscured; because the prediction made, “that Tiberius should not return to Rome,” was not the child of whimsical chance, but was founded upon truth; which the event proved, al-

though every other circumstance was kept hidden from the predictors; nor could they perceive that this prince should arrive at a very old age, without entering a city, into whose neighbourhood he should have come so often.



B L I N D N E S S.

ONE may be born blind, or become so through accident or malady. It is not our intention, here, to treat either of the diseases of the eye, or of other accidents that may occasion a loss of sight. We shall confine ourselves to make philosophical reflexions upon blindness, through the ideas of which we are deprived by it, as well as through the advantage acquired by the other senses in consequence of it.

From the known truth of the sense of seeing being more fitted to distract us, by the diversified qualities of objects which it presents to us at once, it follows, that they who are deprived of this faculty, must naturally, for the most part, apply with a closer attention to the objects which fall under their other senses. And this is the principal reason of that delicacy of feeling and hearing, that has been observed in some blind people, which is by no means the effect of a real superiority in these two senses; whereby nature means, as it were, to compensate in some sort for their loss of sight.

So true is this position, that a person become

blind through accident, finds often, in the succour of the other senses, a resource, which he knew not of before : and this is to be ascribed solely to that person's being less distracted, and become more capable of attention. But it is chiefly in persons born blind, that we are to remark (if such an expression may be allowed) the miracles of blindness.

An anonymous author published, in the year 1719, a little philosophical work, very elegantly written, and entitled, *Letters on Blindness, for the Use of those who can see*; with this motto,

“ *Possunt quia posse videntur.* ”

“ They can, because they seem they can. ”

which alludes to the prodigies that have been observed in folks born blind. We purpose to give, in this article, an extract of that ingenious work, whose metaphysical reasoning, though very subtle, is yet true in general; and which we adhere to, without departing from it in any essential point.

The author sets out by making mention of a person born blind, with whom he was acquainted, and who was alive at the time of his writing the treatise in question. This extraordinary man, who lived at Puisaux, in Gatinois, was both chymist and musician. He taught this person to read with characters in relieve. He could judge with exactness of symmetry. But it is to be doubted, whether the idea of symmetry, which is with us, in many respects, but a matter of mere convention or agreement, might be more or less so for him.

The definition which he gives of a looking-glass has something very singular. "It is, according to him, a machine, by means whereof things are exhibited in relieve out of themselves." This definition indeed may appear absurd to a blockhead who has eyes; but a true philosopher, however keen-sighted, will pronounce it to be not less subtle than surprising. Had Des Cartes been born blind, he might be proud of it. By what a delicate train of ideas must he have been led so far! Our blind man could have, in this affair, no knowledge but through the medium of his feeling. He conceived, from what he had heard other men relate to him, that it is by the faculty of sight they came to a knowledge of objects, as in a kindred manner he does by the mediation of feeling: it was the only notion he could form to himself. He had learned moreover, that a man cannot see his own face, although he can touch it. Sight then, in his sense, must have been a species of feeling, or touching, that extends itself to any proper objects that are different from our countenance, and placed at a distance from it. Besides, the sense of touching, or feeling, in this case excited in him the idea of a relieve. Therefore, adds he, "a looking-glass is a machine, that places us in relieve out of ourselves." Let it be observed, that the words *in relieve* are by no means redundant here; for, had the blind man simply said, "which places us out of ourselves," it would have been an absurdity; because how can we conceive an object that is to double itself? The words *in relieve* here are only applied to the

surface; wherefore, by “ourselves being placed
“in relievo out of ourselves,” nothing more is
meant than the representation of the surface of
our bodies being made out of ourselves.

The blind man must have been induced, by his
manner of reasoning, to think that feeling re-
presents to him only the surface of bodies, and
that therefore the species of touching or feeling,
called Sight, gives us but an idea of the
relievo, or the surface, of bodies, without
giving that of their solidity; the words *in re-
lievo*, here, meaning no more than surface.

I own here, that the blind man’s attempt at
an explanation, notwithstanding this restriction,
is an ænigma to him; but a pleasure, that must
hence result to all reflecting minds, is to ob-
serve (considering his situation) the very inge-
nious method employed by him to diminish,
and, as far as by him practicable, to solve the
ænigma.

It must strike every body, that mirrors, and
every kind of glasses which enlarge, diminish, or
multiply objects, were impenetrable mysteries
to him. He asked if the glass that increased
objects, was shorter than that which lessened
them; or, if that which drew them near, was
less than that which threw them off at a di-
stance: and not being able to conceive how the
other ourselves were impalpable to feeling, he
cried out, “I perceive that two senses are put
“in contradiction to each other, by the means of
“a little machine: another, more perfect, would
“make them agree; and a third, still more
“perfect, and less perfidious, would make all
“those phantoms disappear, and convince us,

“ that we had been in an error.” What philosophical conclusions might not a person born blind be enabled to bring against the fallacy of our senses!

He defines the eyes to be an organ, on which the air causes the same effect as a stick upon the hand. The author we abstract from here, observes, that this definition hath some resemblance with that of Des Cartes, who, in his Dioptrics, compares the eye to a blind man, that touches objects at a distance with his stick. The rays of light are the sticks of the clear-sighted.

Our blind man's memory of sounds is to a most amazing degree; and he distinguishes among the variety of voices, with as much accuracy and quickness, as those who see, can among that of faces. The succour which he derives from his other senses, and the very surprising use which he makes thereof, to the astonishment of all whom he has any concern with, render him almost indifferent about the loss of sight. He is sensible enough, that in some circumstances he hath advantages over those who can see; which makes him, instead of being desirous of sight, to wish, as an equivalent thereto, for longer arms.

He addresses himself directly towards the place, whence any noise or voice affects his ear. He judges of the proximity of fire, by the degree of heat; of the plenitude of vessels, by the noise which liquors make as they are poured from them; of the nearness of bodies, by the action of the air upon his face: he can distinguish an open street from a *cul de sac*, one

that has no passage through it; which proves that the air, relatively to him, is never in an absolute state of rest; and that his countenance is instinctively sensible of the least vicissitude in the atmosphere.

He wonderfully appreciates the weight of bodies, and the capacity of vessels; he has trained his arms to serve him, as exact scales or balancers, and his fingers as compasses, that never deceive him. The smoothness of bodies hath as many variations for him, as the sounds of the voice. He judges of beauty by the touch; and, what is singular, he makes the sound of the persons voice, with their manner of pronouncing, to come in for a share of this judgment.

He executes several little works in the turning way, and with a needle: he takes a level with a square: he puts together, or takes asunder, pieces of common machinery: he performs pieces of music, the notes and their value being first told him: he estimates, with much more precision than we do, the progress of time, and that by the succession of actions and thoughts.

He has an implacable hatred to thieves; and the reason arises, no doubt, from the difficulty, or rather impossibility, in which he is to perceive when he is robbed: he has but little, or rather, scarce any notion of what modesty consists in: he looks upon clothes as necessary for protecting our bodies from the injuries of the air; but he cannot comprehend, why certain parts of the body should be covered preferably to others: "wherefore," says the author we abridge from, "Diogenes would not have

“ranked as a philosopher in the opinion of our
“blind hero.” In fine, the exterior appearances
of worldly pomp, with which the generality
of mankind are so much affected, impose not
upon him in the least; which in the kingdom of
Reason is no despicable article.

We pass over, in silence, a great number of
very subtle and refined reflexions, made by the
author we quote from, upon this French blind
man, to proceed to what he says of another
celebrated personage in the same situation; and
that is the famous Saunderson of England, a
professor of mathematics at Cambridge.

When an infant, he lost his sight by the
small-pox, and so early, that he did not re-
member to have ever seen. He had no more
ideas of light, than a person born blind. Not-
withstanding this misfortune, he made such a
surprising progress in the mathematics, that
the professorship thereof was conferred upon
him by the above-mentioned illustrious univer-
sity. His lectures were exceedingly clear; and
the reason assigned for it is, that he used to
address himself to his pupils, as if they were
all deprived of sight: whence it followed of
course, that the blind teacher, who could ex-
plain his meaning clearly to blind pupils, must
have a great advantage with those who could
see, from their quickness of conceiving him.
He taught his scholars the calculations which
he had made.

Although it may appear very singular to the
many, that he gave lectures upon optics, yet
to philosophical minds, the miraculous of this
affair soon disappears, on reflecting, that a blind

man, without any idea of either light or colours, may give lectures upon optics, in proceeding like the geometricians, who look upon the rays of light as straight lines, that ought to be disposed of and arranged according to certain laws, in order to cause the phenomena of vision, as well as those observable in mirrors, optic glasses, &c.

Saunderson, in running his hand over a series of medals, could distinguish the false from the true, even when they were so well counterfeited, as even to deceive the practised eyes of a connoisseur: he could judge of the exactness of mathematical instruments, by running his fingers over the divisions. He was, like the before-mentioned blind man, sensible of the least vicissitudes in the atmosphere: and he perceived (in calm weather especially) the presence of objects near him. As he sat one day in his garden meditating on astronomical observations, he distinguished, by the impression of the air on his countenance, the different times when the sun was covered with clouds, and when not; which is so much the more extraordinary, as that he was deprived not only of sight, but of hearing.

Our author looks upon the pretended history of Saunderson's Last Moments, printed in English, to be an absolute imposition; which, though held by many learned men to be highly criminal against the majesty of science, might be deemed only a stroke of mere pleasantry, were it not occasioned by so solemn and respectable a subject.

Our author afterwards treats in a cursory man-

ner of several other blind personages, who through the loss of one sense have made a wonderful progress in the arts and sciences, which otherwise perhaps they would not. He farther observes, and not improbably, that the famous Tiresias, who is said to have become blind because he had penetrated into the secrets of the Gods, and could predict future events, was, in all likelihood, some celebrated blind philosopher, whose name fabulous history hath transmitted down to us. Perhaps he was the most renowned philosopher of his time, because he could foretell eclipses; which to an ignorant people must appear astonishing. His becoming blind towards the latter end of his life, was doubtless occasioned by too continued an application, that over-fatigued his eyes in making such a variety of nice observations; as hath since indeed been the case with Galileo and Cassini.

There have been many instances of people born blind being restored to sight; as for example, that young lad, about thirteen years old, whom Mr. Cheselden, a celebrated surgeon at London, relieved from the cataract, that had rendered him blind from his birth. This great operator curiously observed the progressive manner of his beginning to see, which he published in No. 402. of the Philosophical Transactions, and in the fifty-fifth number of the Tatler, with his remarks thereon. Here follows an extract of those remarks from the third volume of Natural History, by Messieurs de Buffon and d'Aubenton.

“ This youth, notwithstanding his blind-

ness, could distinguish the day from the night, as can all those who are blinded by a cataract. He could distinguish any strong light, as he could also the colours black, white and scarlet; but he could not discern the form of the bodies. The operation was first made upon one eye: as soon as the young patient began to see, all the objects before seemed to him as if they were applied to his eyes; and those that appeared the more pleasing to him, although he could give no reason for it, were such as had a regular form. He did not however know the colours which, while blind, he could distinguish by the aid of a strong light. He could not discriminate one object from another, however different their forms were. When the objects, which he had known before by feeling, were presented to him, he considered attentively in order to recognize them; but, all on a sudden, a general act of oblivion followed, from the multitude of things that crowded in upon him for admission.

“ He was much surprised in not finding those persons handsomer whom he had loved more than others. He was a long time before he could be made to comprehend how pictures represented solid bodies. He at first looked upon them as plans differently coloured: But when he was undeceived, and, on applying his hands to them, discovered nothing besides surfaces, he asked whether it was the sight or the touch which had deceived him. He expressed great surprise, that in a little space the picture of an object much larger than the space could be contained; as for example,

the human countenance in a miniature portrait; which appeared to him equally impossible, as to make a quart contain a bushel.

“ At first he could bear but a very small quantity of light, and saw all objects very large: but by degrees the first seen looked smaller, as he accustomed himself to see larger. Although he very well knew the chamber, in which he was, to be of less dimension than the house, yet he could not conceive why the house should appear larger than the chamber.

“ Before the restitution of his sight, he was but very little anxious about the recovery of this additional sense to him; because he knew not the loss of it, and was conscious to himself, that in some articles he enjoyed peculiar advantages unknown to others who could see. But as soon as he came to view objects distinctly, then he felt real transports of joy.

“ About a year after the first operation, the second was performed upon the other eye, and was crowned with equal success. He saw at first, with this second eye, the objects much larger than they appeared to the other; but, however, not so large as they had appeared at first to it, after the operation a year before. When he looked steadfastly on an object with both his eyes, he said that the object appeared to him as big again, as when he looked at it only with his first eye.”

Mr. Cheselden mentions several others born blind, whom he had freed from the cataract, and observed in them the same phenomena, without entering into a like detail. He remarks, that from their not having been used

to move their eyes during the state of blindness, it was but by degrees that they learned how to direct them towards objects.

From the result of these experiments, it must clearly appear, that the sense of seeing arrives at perfection but by slow degrees, and is at first very confused; and that we learn to see, pretty nearly, as we learn to speak. A new-born babe, that opens its eyes for the first time to the light, feels, no doubt, the same progressive emotions, which have been observed in the lad born blind. By the agency of feeling, and custom, the erroneous judgments of infant sight are corrected gradually.

Let us now return to our author, who says, "We seek for people born blind, in order to examine through them how vision is formed; but I believe," adds he, "that we may equally profit by putting questions to any other blind person of good sense; and, that due credit might be given to such experiments, the person, by whose means they are to be made, should for that purpose be prepared a long time beforehand, and perhaps rendered somewhat philosophical. It would not also be amiss, to defer beginning the observations, until a long time after the operation shall have been made. For this purpose, it would be proper to treat the patient in the dark, and to be assured that the wound were quite cured, as also that the eyes are sound: nor ought he to be at first, or too soon, exposed to broad day. An attempt of this kind, from the delicacy of its nature, would be attended with difficulties, lest a subject thus prepared should balk our expectations, and

though most cautiously interrogated, might not inform us exactly, how things pass within him. Besides, the most learned, and the most polished members of society, are not the best calculated for the making of such nice and philosophical experiments."

Let us put an end to this article, from the author of the letters, with the famous question of Molinæus, who supposes that a person born blind has learned, by the touch or feeling, to distinguish a globe from a cube; then asks, if, when sight shall be restored to him, he will immediately distinguish the globe from the cube without touching them. Molinæus believes not, and Mr. Locke is of his opinion; because the person born blind cannot know that the advanced angle of a cube, which passeth on his hand in an irregular manner, is to appear to his eyes what it appears on the cube.

Our above-quoted author, founded upon Chelfelden's experiment, inclines to believe (and with reason) that a person born blind must at first see all objects in a very confused manner, and that, so far from distinguishing immediately the globe from the cube, he will not have a distinct perception of the two different figures. He believes however, that at long run, and without the assistance of touching, the new spectator will learn to make a distinction between the two figures. The reason which he alledges, and that cannot be easily refuted, is, that the blind person not being necessitated to employ his touch to distinguish colours one from the other, the limits of colours will at length suffice to teach him how to discriminate the form, and the

contour of different objects. In fine, he will see a globe and a cube; that is, a circle and a square. But the tact, or sense of touching, having no relation whatever to that of sight; he will not be able to guess that one of those two bodies is what he calls a *globe*, and the other a *cube*: so vision will by no means recall to his memory a sensation which he had received by the tact. Let us now suppose him to be told, that one of these two bodies is what by tact he felt to be a globe, and the other a cube; will he be able to distinguish them? The answer given by our ingenious author is, that an uninstructed and grossly ignorant person would hastily pronounce at all events; but that a metaphysical or geometrical mind, such as a Saunderson's, would proceed with a cautious examination of those figures; and when, by the supposition of certain lines therein, he would find that he can demonstrate, in the one, all the properties of a circle which he had learned by the tact; and in the other, all those of a square; he would immediately be tempted to pronounce, That is the globe, and this is the square. However, if he be prudent, he will be dubious of giving so precipitate a judgement, and thus reflect within himself: "Perhaps, on an application of my hand to these two figures, they will be mutually transformed one into the other; so that the first figure might serve for my demonstrating the properties of a circle to blind folks; and those of a square, to such as can see."

But a Saunderson would reply in the negative: "I am in error; they to whom I demon-

“strated the properties of a circle and a square,
“in whom the faculties of seeing and hearing
“perfectly agreed, understood me very well,
“although they did not touch the figures upon
“which I made the demonstration: they were
“satisfied with seeing them. They did not
“see a square when I felt a circle: no; for if
“they had, we should never have understood
“each other. But since they all understood me,
“it is clear that all men see alike. Therefore
“I see a square what they saw a square, and I
“felt to be a square; and, by a parity of reason,
“I see a circle, what I felt to be a circle.”

We have here, in complaisance to our quoted author, substituted circle to globe, and square to cube; because there is much reason to believe, that he who makes use of his eyes for the first time, sees nothing but surfaces, and knows not what projection is; for the projection of a body consists in some of its points being more advanced towards us than others. It is then by experience, jointly with the tact, and not the sight alone, that we are enabled to judge of distances.

From all that has been said of the globe and the cube, or of the circle and the square, let us conclude with our author, that there are circumstances, where the reasoning and experience of others furnish a new perspicuity to the faculty of seeing, through its relationship with the tact, and give assurance to the eye, that they are in perfect harmony with each other.

The letter-writer concludes with some reflexions on what might be the case of a person

who should have seen from his birth, but was deprived of tact, or feeling; and of another, in whom the senses of feeling and seeing should be in a perpetual contradiction with each other. But in order to avoid prolixity here, we refer our reader to his reflexions; but which recall to our memory another, made by him in the middle of his work, and of the same tendency, viz. "If a person," says he, "who had seen but for a day or two, were to find himself in the midst of a blind people, he must take the resolution either of holding his tongue, or of passing for a fool; because every day he would think he was communicating some new mystery, and such only to them, but which their choice spirits would treat with contempt.

"The advocates for, and defenders of religion, might perhaps derive some advantages for their cause, from an incredulity so obstinate, and so ill grounded."

With this reflexion we close the present article; and it is sufficient to counterbalance several others, scattered throughout the work, that indeed seem to border on infidelity.



THE SOUL OF BEASTS.

WHETHER beasts might be animated with a soul or not, was a question of sufficient importance to excite and interest the curiosity of the ancient philosophers. However, it does not appear that they gave them-

selves any great trouble about the matter; and although they have had so many warm debates about various other topics, they never had any violent contest on this subject. They, without enquiring, gave supinely into the generally received opinion, that beasts are endowed with sensibility and knowledge; occasionally attributing to their principle of knowledge more or less of dignity, and more or less of conformity with the human soul; concealing perhaps, tho' in different methods, under the learned obscurity of their enigmatic style, a gross prejudice, yet too prevalent among mankind, which maintained, that matter is capable of thinking.

But the vulgar errors, suffered to pass without opposition by the ancient philosophers, have met with vigorous antagonists among the moderns: and Des Cartes, followed by a numerous party, was the first who dared to treat publicly of beasts as mere machines: for Gomefias Pereira, who had advanced something like it some time before, scarce merits to be mentioned; because, according to Bayle's observation, this opinion was not a hit-off from himself, but taken up at the rebound, from the private theory of others; wherefore he was neither feared, nor followed as an assertor of this doctrine, but is fallen into oblivion; having suffered the most grating disappointment which can happen to an innovator, and that is, not to have been able to form a sect.

Des Cartes is, therefore, the leading chief in this doctrine; conducted by his profound meditations to deny the beasts having a soul; to which paradox he gave an extraordinary vogue

in the world. He probably would never have given into this opinion, if not impelled thereto by the unquestionable truth of a distinction between soul and body; to which distinction he first gave its greatest lustre, and by means of the then generally prevailing prejudice against beasts having a soul.

The doctrine of machines defeated two great objections; one, against the immortality of their souls; and the other, against the goodness of God: but from the moment that we adopt the system of automata, these two difficulties vanish; yet the abettors of it were not aware, that several others took their rise from it. Let it however be observed, that the philosophy of Des Cartes, notwithstanding all his enemies have uttered against it, tended always to the advantage of religion; and his hypothesis of the brute creation being no more than machinery, is a proof.

The Cartesian system hath always triumphed, whilst it had only to combat with the material souls of Aristotle, those incomplete substances deduced from the power of matter, to constitute therewith a knowing and thinking substance in beasts. But these chimerical entities of the schools have been so effectually defeated, that it is believed nobody will be in a hurry to revive them; because such phantoms could never stand the enquiry of an enlightened age like ours: for if there were not a medium between them and the automata of Des Cartes, we should be obliged to admit the latter.

Since the time of Des Cartes, a third party has luckily started into existence; by which

all the ridicule of the automatic system has been displayed; and for which discovery we are obliged to the more accurate ideas that have been conceived about the intellectual world: whence it was established, that the system of the universe is more extensive than commonly believed, and contains several other sorts of inhabitants, besides angels and human souls; an ample resource for philosophers to sidle off to, wherever the mechanical explanations stop short, and particularly where the actions of brutes are to be accounted for.

In our displaying the celebrated system of automata, let us be careful to omit nothing worthy of being more especially remarked; but exhibit, in a succinct manner, all the reasons that bid directly to establish this system, which may be reduced to this; that the mechanism solely employed to account for the movements and actions of brutes, as well as the hypothesis that gives them a soul, are false, for this very reason, that they were superfluous; which may be easily proved, from the supposition of this principle, that the bodies of animals have in themselves, independently of a soul, the principle of life and movement; of which truth experience has furnished us uncontrovertible proofs.

I. It is certain that a number of human actions are merely mechanical; because they are done imperceptibly to the agent, and without any direction from the will; which are to be ascribed to the impression of objects, and primordial disposition of the machine, wherein the influence of the soul has no share: of

which number are all habits of the body acquired from the reiteration of certain actions, whether occasioned by the presence of certain objects, or by the union of the traces impressed on the brain by different sensations, or by the combination of a long series of movements often repeated in the same successive order, whether fortuitously or by design: to which may be referred all the particular dispositions of the body, that are derived from an application to any particular art; as, for instance, a musical person who plays on the harpsicord, and a dancer that executes very diversified movements, yet regulated and exact, without having had, in the performance of each particular movement, any particular attention to the proper order, but through the intervention of a simple act of the will, that, determining to sing, dance, or play such an air, gives the first impression to the animal spirits; and all the rest follows regularly, without any consciousness of the agent, by whom such feats are performed: to these may be added the many surprising actions of persons liable to a distraction or absence of mind, or of those who walk in their sleep, &c. In all such circumstances, human beings are no better than automata.

II. There are some natural movements so involuntary, that we cannot restrain them: for example, that admirable mechanism, ever on the watch to preserve an equilibrium, when we stoop, bend, or incline our bodies in any wise, and when we walk upon a narrow plank.

III. The natural liking for, as well as an-

tipathy against certain objects, which in children precede the power of knowing and discriminating them, and that sometimes in grown persons triumph over all the efforts of reason, to eradicate so groundless a prejudice, are all phænomena to be accounted for from the wonderful mechanism of the body, and are so many cogent proofs of that irresistible influence, which objects have on the movements of the human frame.

IV. Every person of any education knows how much our passions depend on the degree of motion into which the blood is put, and the reciprocal impressions caused by the animal spirits between the heart and the brain, that are so closely connected by their nerves. We are all very sensible how impressions from without do excite the passions within us, or give force to them, as being so many modifications of the machine. Des Cartes, in his treatise of the Passions, and father Malbranche, in his upon Morality, explain, in a very satisfactory manner, by what energy the human machine is actuated on such occasions ; and how, without the assistance of any thought or reflexion, by the wonderful correspondence and sympathy subsisting between the nerves and muscles, each of these passions, considered as an emotion merely corporeal, diffuses over the countenance a certain air which is specificated to it ; accompanied, at the same time, by such gestures and bodily deportment as are characteristic thereof ; and causes, throughout the whole frame, such movements as are adapted to each particular

exigency, and always proportioned to the objects that provoke their exertion.

One may easily conjecture for what end all the preceding reflexions have been made on the human body, considered as an automaton, that exists independently of a soul, that is, of any sentimental or intellectual principle; which is, that if we see the brute creation to be capable of performing nothing superior to what such an automaton, by virtue of its organisation, can, then there must appear no reason to induce us to conclude an intellectual principle necessary for animals, nor to look upon them in a different light from that of being mere machines, although prejudice of education may have made us to annex the same thoughts to the actions of animals, as arise in us when we do the like.

No inference can give a juster idea of Des Cartes's doctrine of automata, than Mr. Règis's comparison of some hydraulic machines, to be seen in certain grottos and fountains, that serve as ornaments to the splendid mansions of the great; where the water exerts itself by the disposition of the pipes, and some exterior pressure, by which means the machinery is put into motion. He compares the pipes of these fountains to the nerves, and the tendons, muscles, &c. to the other springs of motion that belong to the machinery; as, for instance, the animal spirits to the water, that communicates the first impulse of motion; the heart, to its source; and the cavities of the brain, to its reservoirs. The exterior objects, that by their presence act upon the organs of sense in animals, he compares to the

strangers entering into a grotto, and who, according to the different prepared parts of the flooring, put certain figures, that have a correspondence therewith, into action : if they move towards Diana, she runs away, and plunges into a fountain; but if they proceed farther, Neptune advances with a menacing look, and a trident in his hand.

We may also, according to this system, compare animals to those organs that play several tunes by the movements given to them by water only. There may, add the Cartesians, be a particular organisation in animals, agreeable to the supreme and creative will, and diversifiable in each different species, but always proportioned to the objects, having ever in view the great end of preserving the individual, and the species : and nothing could be more easy than such a disposition of things to the Omnipotent, that both intimately and perfectly knows the nature and tendency of all created beings. The establishment of such a correspondence and harmony could not oppose the least difficulty or trouble to his wisdom and power. The very idea of such an harmonising plan is great, and worthy of the Deity ; which alone, say the Cartesians, ought to gain over, accustom, and familiarise a philosophic mind to these paradoxes, at which vulgar prejudice takes so much offence, and gives so great an air of ridicule to the doctrine of Des Cartes on the present subject.

There is another consideration that presents itself in favour of the Cartesian system, derived from extraordinary works of art, and which

indeed presents something speciously dazzling to the mind. It is amazing, to what a degree human industry has perfected certain machines, whose effects are inconceivable, and which seem to be possessed of some miraculous energy, in the sense of those who are not conversant with the secret springs of such mechanical exertions: for supposing, that we were to have exhibited here now before us, all those prodigies of art, which we have heard people mention so often; such as artificial statues, that walk; flies, that hum and fly about; spiders, that spin and fabricate their webs; birds, that sing; a golden head, that speaks; a Pan, that plays upon the flute; with a thousand other instances; yet so far from enumerating all, we should find ourselves to have proceeded no farther than to the specific generalities of Art, in all those inventions by which she so ingeniously copies Nature, and with so pleasing a delusion.

The celebrated works of Vulcan, such as the tripods that walked of themselves, in the assembly of gods; those slaves, made of gold, that seemed to learn his art from their master, and to work near him, are a class of the marvellous, that, however, exceeds not all the bounds of probability: and the heathen deities, that are said to have admired them, were not so enlightened, relative to such articles, as among mortals the modern discoverers of mechanical powers have proved themselves to be. Wherefore thus reason the followers of Des Cartes: Collect together all those wondrous contrivances, and the effects arising from them, yet are they all confined within the limits of human art:

form then to yourselves ideas, however inadequate, of what divine art can produce. We allude not here to any imaginery machine, which the Deity's power might produce: no; because the body of an animal is without doubt a machine, composed of infinitely more subtle and delicate springs, than can be discovered in any machine executed by the art of man, wherein we should suppose to be united all the excellence of workmanship and contrivance parcelled out, and scattered among the various artificial objects, which we have either seen, or heard of.

The point now in question is, whether, on the supposition of such a machine, as might be the aggregate of all human executive excellence, it would not appear infinitely inferior to the body of an animal when compared; as much by the delicacy, as the variety of its arrangements, and the composition of its vital springs. May we not, however, draw inferences, by reasoning comparatively, from the smallest to the greatest, that their organisation may cause all the variety of regular motions which we see an animal perform? and as we have not a very distinct knowledge upon that head, we are not authorised to say, that it is fraught with art sufficient to produce all these effects. Wherefore the partisans of Des Cartes declare, that nothing obliges to allow a soul unnecessarily existing in beasts, since all the actions of animals tend ultimately to their safety and preservation; that therefore it would be incongruous with the views of divine wisdom to have created any thing unnecessary, because it delights in acting

by the most simple means, and to proportion the excellence and number of the means to the importance of the end to be obtained; and that, consequently, the Deity must have employed but the agency of mechanic laws for the support and maintenance of mechanic beings; must have also lodged within, not placed without them, the principle of their self-preservation, and all their operations that tend thereto. Here ends the plea of the Cartesians; to which is added the reply made to them by their antagonists.

Let us set off, by proposing, in order to take the light of experience for our guide, that one of Des Cartes's machines be taken to pieces; that we fix the basis of our enquiry on those actions which we see commonly practised by animals: we may then proceed from consequence to consequence, by following the rules of the most scrupulous logic, until we shall have demonstrated, that there is discoverable in animals a spiritual principle, which is the cause of all their actions; but avoid entering, with the Cartesians, into any of their puzzling chicanery, about the possibility of mere mechanism producing such phænomena. People must be cautious not to implead the tenets advanced by them, concerning the fecundity of the laws of motion; or the miraculous effects of mechanism; or the incomprehensible extensiveness of Divine intellect; or the parallel which they make of those machines made by the art of man, and what more infinitely marvellous and great might be found in a mechanism ordered by the Creator of the universe.

An idea so redundant with mechanical possi-

bilities, even almost to infinity, as well as with that of the combinations of the figure and movement, joined to that of the wisdom and the power of the Creator, is the unconquerable fort, to which the Cartesians betake themselves; which indeed affords ample matter to a thinking mind: because, whoever hath in the least reflected on the idea of a being infinitely perfect, will be very diffident to deny the possibility of any thing that implies not a contradiction.

But surely the Cartesians are in error, when, in taking their departure from a possibility granted to them, they continue their argument in this manner.---Since it is granted that the Deity can produce such beings as automata, what is to prevent us from thinking that he has really done so? For the operations of animals, however wonderful they may appear to us, may be only the combined result of certain delicate springs residing in a particular arrangement of organs, that keep precisely touch with the application of the general laws of motion, which application the divine artificer is capable both of conceiving and producing: therefore we ought not to attribute to animals a thinking and a feeling principle, but conclude them to be mere machines.

This is carrying the assertion too far, and too dogmatically; wherefore the consequence which they have drawn is to be denied, and they are to be answered in the following manner by those who oppose them. "We are, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary, induced to believe, that animals have a thinking

“ and a feeling principle within them ; because
 “ every action which we see them perform
 “ leads us to a conviction thereof ; which prin-
 “ ciple we think we may safely attribute to
 “ them, and are not obliged to pay any regard
 “ to the possibility that is objected to us.”

Let it be observed, that our present enquiry has nothing hypothetical, but a fact under its consideration, which is, whether animals have such a principle existing within them, or not. We have daily opportunities of seeing their actions : it is now our business to discover what may be the cause of them ; and here we are to pursue a method of reasoning, similar to that made use of in physics, for the tracing of natural causes, and which is adopted by historians when they want to ascertain particular events. Therefore the very principles, which conduct to a certainty in the matters mentioned, must direct and guide us in this.

The first is, that the Deity cannot deceive us :---The second teacheth us, that a connection subsists among a great number of appearances united to a cause, by the unfolding of whose energy they are explained, and whereby is, at the same time, proved the existence of such a cause. Now, if by a supposed cause all the known phænomena are explained ; if they are all united in one principle, as so many lines in one common centre ; if also we cannot imagine any other principle that can account for all these phænomena, besides that one ; we must then adopt the existence of this principle, as an unquestionable truth.

Here then is the fixed point, beyond which

the human understanding cannot go; it being impossible for our mind to remain in a state of suspension, while there is sufficient reason to affirm on one side, and none on the other. But if, notwithstanding, we are deceived, it is then the Deity that deceiveth us; because he has made us in such a manner, and given us no other means for attaining to a certainty in such subjects. If animals are then no better than machines, the Deity deceiveth us: and this argument is the surest overthrow of the hypothesis of machines.

Let us grant however, that if God can make a machine, which, by the mere disposition of its springs, executes all the surprising actions that are admired in a dog, and a monkey; he also may, from other machines, that may perfectly imitate all the actions of a man: they are both equally possible to the Deity, and in this last supposition there would be wanting only a greater expence of art, a more refined organisation. The Supreme, comprehending, within the infinite scope of his divine understanding, the ideas of all those possible combinations of figures, of their relations, of the impressions to be made, and determinations to animal movements; moreover, his power being equal to his wisdom; it is obvious that there is no difference between these two suppositions, but that of the degree from more to less, and which alters nothing in the region of possibilities.

How can the Cartesians escape from the force of this consequence; or what essential disparities can they find between their adopted me-

chanism of animals which they so strenuously defend, and the visionary hypothesis transforming all mankind into so many automata? which must soon reduce one of that sect to a state of uncertainty, whether there be any other intelligences in the world, besides God and his own intellectuality.

If we were engaged with a Pyrrhonian this way inclined, in what manner must we dress up our arguments, in order to prove to him that all the men he sees are not automata? I would shield my arguments behind these two leading principles. 1st, The Deity cannot deceive us. 2dly, The connexion subsisting among a great number of appearances, united to a cause, by the unfolding of whose energy they are explained, and whereby is at the same time proved the existence of that very cause.

The chapter of mere possibility avails nothing here; because, whoever advances the possibility of a thing's being done in such a manner, implies at the same time an equal possibility of its being done in an opposite manner.

In answer to the allegation, That it is possible the Deity may have constructed machines like to the human body; that, by the simple laws of mechanism, they can speak, converse, maintain a continued discourse, and even compose rational treatises: In the case of such a supposition, it must be the Deity (being possessed of all those ideas, which are occasioned in me by the different actions of those beings whom I look upon to be equally intelligent as myself) who puts the springs of those automata into play, that excited the ideas appropriated by

him, and that execute the whole by the laws of mechanism.

We grant that all this is possible; but pray be pleased to compare your hypothesis with ours. You attribute all that we see to a secret mechanism, with which ye are absolutely unacquainted: you suppose a cause, yet can derive no connexion from it to its effects, nor can explain any phenomena by it. We obviously discern a cause, of which we have an idea; a cause that connects and explains all the phenomena; and this cause is a soul like to our own: we know that we perform all those exterior actions, which we see other men do, by the direction of a soul, that thinks, that reasons, that has ideas, that is united to a body, whose movements it regulates in the manner which to it seems most agreeable. The system of a rational soul explains clearly to us all operations similar to those which we observe in the human beings that environ us; therefore we conclude, that, like ours, they are united to rational souls. This then is the principle, that, according to our ideas, can combine and explain, with the greatest perspicuity, all the varied phenomena which we see.

The mere possibility of another cause, but of which you gave us no idea, (that, is your possible but inconceivable mechanism) and which gives us no satisfactory explanation of the various phenomena we behold, will never prevent our asserting the existence of a rational soul that explains them to us; or from firmly believing that the human beings, with whom we live in social commerce, are not more

than automata. And pray remark, that our belief is founded on a perfect certainty, because its basis is fixed in this evident principle, "That the Deity cannot deceive us." Now if these loco-motive forms, which we take to be men like ourselves, were no more than automata, he certainly would have deceived us; because he would have employed the means necessary to force us into error, by making us conceive, on one side, a clear reason for all the phenomena which we perceive, that could be to no purpose, while, on the other, he would have kept the true one hidden from us.

All that has been hitherto advanced, can be easily applied to the actions of animals; and the natural consequence presents itself. What do we observe in them? Actions continued progressively from one to the other, not devoid of meaning, or of expressing a sense that implies a representation of ideas, desires, interests, and the designs of a particular being. It is true, that they do not speak; but that disparity between the human species and animals can be alledged for no other purpose but to prove, that as, like the former, they have not universal ideas so to do, they cannot form abstract reasonings: but they act in a manner conformable to their state; which proves that they have a sentimental consciousness of themselves, and a peculiar interest, which is the principle and end of all their actions. Every motion of theirs tends to their advantage, to their preservation, and well-being.

Were their practices to be more closely pried into, there would soon manifestly appear a

social tendency among those of the same species, as well as sometimes between different species. They seem to understand each other, to act in concert, and concur in completing a design. They can keep up a correspondence with man, as may be instanced in horses, dogs, &c. put them into training, they learn; command them, they obey; threaten them, they seem to fear; flatter them, they become caressing in return. Moreover, for we must supersede here the marvellous effects ascribed to instinct, do we not perceive, in the spontaneous actions of certain animals, an image of reason and liberty, and by so much the more, from its being less uniform, more diversified, and more extraordinary, because less premeditated, or less foreseen, and accommodated on the instant to the present occasion of them?

It is then in vain, Cartesians, that ye so often advance the vague idea of mechanism's possibilities that are unknown, and which neither ye can express, nor we conceive; yet that ye assert to be the primordial source, and original cause, of all the phænomena observable in animals. But we have a clear idea of quite another cause, which is, the idea of a sensitive principle, and that we perceive to have very distinct relations with all the phænomena in question; satisfactorily explaining, and universally combining, all the different phænomena.

Every one of us perceives, that our souls, in quality of this sensitive principle, produces a thousand different actions, and moves our bodies in a thousand different ways; and not unlike to those with which we see animals are.

actuated in similar circumstances. When we have allowed such a principle to reside in animals, we see the reason in the cause of all the movements which they make for the preservation of their machine: we know why a dog withdraws his foot from the fire when it burns him; why a dog yells when he is smitten, &c. But were this principle to be taken away, we can no longer perceive any reason, or any simple and only cause of all these actions. Wherefore we conclude, that in animals there is a sensitive principle; because the Deity is not a deceiver, and that he would be such, in case animals were mere machines; because he would exhibit to us a multitude of phenomena, whence necessarily must result, in my mind, the idea of a cause, that at the same time cannot be: therefore the very same reasons, which directly show us an intelligent soul in every man, assure us also, that there is something more than matter, an intellectual principle, in animals.

But, to push this argument still farther, in order to comprehend its force the better, let us suppose, just for argument sake, an innate disposition in the machine, whence all these surprising operations arise: nay, let us even say, we believe it to be congruous with divine wisdom, to produce a machine that may be sufficient for its own preservation, because it inwardly possesses, through virtue of its admirable organisation, the principles of all the movements that concur to its being preserved. We now ask, What good purpose can be answered by such a machine? Wherefore was this won-

derful apparatus of springs contrived? Wherefore are they endowed with organs so like to those of ourselves? Wherefore have they eyes, ears, nostrils, and a brain? It may be answered, that they may regulate the movements of the automata, by the different impressions which they receive from the exterior objects. But to what purpose all this? Why, to preserve the machine. But again, suppose this question were put: To what useful end, in this world, could machines be contributing, which can preserve themselves? The immediate answer given is, It is not our business to penetrate into the secret views of the Creator; or to scrutinise the ends which he assigns to himself in each of his works. But if he should manifestly discover his views to us, and by speaking signs; is it not consonant to reason, that we should gratefully acknowledge them? Have we not reason to say, that the ears are made to hear, and the eyes to see? that the fruits of the earth are destined for the nourishment of man? that air is necessary for the enjoyment of life, because the circulation of the blood could not be carried on without its pressure and influence? Can it be supposed, that the different parts of an animal's body were meant by the Creator for any other use, besides that which general experience hath vindicated to us?

But to insist a little longer on this subject. The organs of our senses, which have been modelled by so wise an artificer, can be formed for no other purpose, conformable to the Creator's design, but to be capable of those sensations that are exerted in the soul through their mediation. Can it be doubted, that the body is

made for the soul, to serve it as a principle of sensation, and be the instrument of its action? If this notion be true in regard to man, why is it not so in regard to animals? In the machinery of animals we discover a wise purpose, very worthy of the Deity, and verified by experience in all similar cases; which is to be united to a spiritual principle, and to serve it as a source of perception, and an instrument of action. Therein appears an unity of end, to which is referred that prodigious combination of multiform springs, that compose an organised body. Take away this end; object to this intellectual principle, that feels through the machine, acts upon the machine, and tends incessantly, through a motive of self-interest, to its preservation; I cannot see any purpose for which so admirable a work should have been contrived.

A machine like this ought to have been made for some end distinct from itself; because it is no more made for itself, than the wheels of a clock are made for it. Let it not be replied here, that a clock being made to mark the hours, its principal end is to furnish a just measure of time to mankind; and that the same may be said of animals, that they are machines constructed by the creator for the use of human beings. There would be a great error in such a sentiment; because there should be a careful distinction made between the necessary, and, as we may say, foreign uses of things, and their principal, their primary ends.

Besides, what a number of animals are there among the brute creation, from which man de-

rives no manner of advantage! such as the savage beasts, insects, all those animalcula living in the air, the water, and that prey in crowds upon the surfaces of other bodies. The animals that prove subservient to man, are so but through accident. It is he, indeed, who breaks, who tames, who trains them up, and renders them pliantly obedient to all his purposes. We make use of dogs and horses for the removing, or the supplying of our wants, just as we make use of the wind to impel our ships upon the sea, and on land to turn our mills. It would be a very erroneous conclusion to affirm, that the natural use of the wind, and the chief end proposed for it by the Deity, in creating this meteor, was either to turn mills, or facilitate navigation. How much juster would that opinion be, that should assert, the use of the wind is to purify and freshen the air!

Now let us apply this to our subject. A clock is made to shew the hours, and for no other intent: the many different pieces, of which it is formed, are necessary to this end; in which too they all concur. But is there any proportion of comparison to be made between it, and the delicacy, the variety, and the multiplicity of organs in animal bodies, and the uses to which they are converted to by us? and those too in not many different species, and even among them but of the smallest part.

A clock is made for an end distinct from itself. But if we apply ourselves to contemplate animals, inspect their actions, and reconnoitre them in their natural state, while they are uncontrouled by the usurped authority of man,

and that they are not industriously reduced to administer to our wants, and our capriciousness, they are entirely occupied by no other care but that of their preservation. How! that of the machine? cry those on the other side of the question: this answer does not satisfy us; mere matter cannot be the sole end of its formation; much less then can it be asserted of a portion of organised matter.

Therefore, the arrangement of a material being is made for some other end besides itself, and the sole conservation of its machine: though even this principle should be inherent in the very machinery, it must be the means, but not the end; and the more exquisite would it prove, the more of art discovered therein; and the more should I feel myself, in consequence, obliged to have recourse to something extraneous to the machine; that is, to some simple essence, for whose use this arrangement of matter was made, and with whose machinality is interwoven a connexion of obedience, for their mutual utility. Thus the ideas which we have of the truth and wisdom of the Deity, lead us directly to this general conclusion, which we may henceforward look upon as certain: Beasts, or animals, have an intellectual principle united to their machines, made purposely for them, as ours is made for us, and receive from it a variety of sensations, that make them perform actions which surprise us, through the different directions impressed by it on the moving powers of the machine.

Having now conducted our research so far, as to establish the existence of a soul in animals;

thus do the partisans of such an opinion aver its immateriality. If the soul of animals were not a spiritual being, how could we take upon us to prove that our own is? since the privilege of reason, as well as all the other faculties of the human soul, are not more incompatible with the idea of mere matter, than is simple sensation. And there is a greater distance from matter, however refined, or subtilised, or ranged in the most exquisite manner, to the simple perception of an object, than there is from it immediately to acts of reflexion and reasoning.

But an essential difference is to be made between the human reason and that of animals: for, although a commonly-adopted notion may have given them some degree of reason, yet it has never ventured so far as to put it on an equality with that of man. The reason of animals is employed only on little objects, and acts but very weakly; it cannot, like ours, apply itself to every sort of object. Wherefore, although the soul of animals may be pronounced a thinking substance, yet the sphere in which its cogitative faculty is employed, is very narrow, in comparison with the human: it, no doubt, has ideas of those corporeal objects, which are, in some relation, of utility to its body; but is totally devoid of spiritual and abstract ideas; and is, by no means, susceptible of an idea of the Deity; of good and evil, in the moral sense; or of all the others that are so intimately connected with these; so that an intelligence, capable of receiving the former, must necessarily be susceptible of the latter. The soul of animals cannot take in those notions and

principles, upon which the superstructure of arts and sciences is raised.

Hence we can clearly perceive what a number of the properties, belonging to the human soul, is wanting in that of animals. But those of a different opinion may cry out, Whence hath been derived the assurance of this doctrine? The ready answer is, From experience: because, let us employ all the attention we are masters of, in observing the conduct of animals, and in every point of light; yet no action of theirs reveals to us the least traces of those ideas which I have mentioned: I take in those actions too in which appear the greatest marks of subtlety, of cunning, and which seem to border more closely upon reason. Therefore, experience being our voucher, we can assert, that the souls of beasts enjoy not any of the above-named properties, belonging, exclusively, to the human soul.

But if those of a different sense, and sheltering themselves under the authority of Bayle, should intimate, that the soul of animals, being imprisoned as it is in a particular system of organisation, does not manifest such and such faculties, or give proofs of its having such and such ideas; it does not thence follow, that it is not susceptible of such ideas, and is not possessed of such faculties; because they may *perhaps* be kept in obscurity and restraint, by the machinery's entangling organisation.

But, to so ridiculous a *perhaps*, common-sense replies with indignation. It is directly opposite to the nature of a wise, good, and beneficent Deity, and contrary to the order which he in-

variably follows, to give to a creature any faculties, of which he denies to it the use; especially, when a displaying of these faculties can contribute to the happiness of the creature, and glory of the creator: wherefore the following undeniable principle emanates from the idea of a God supremely good, and supremely wise: That the intelligences by him created, in whatsoever order of beings they are placed, or to whatsoever æconomical dispensation of providence they are subjected, (*æconomical* here alludes to that permanent and invariable order of things established by the general laws of Nature) are capable of glorifying him, as far as their nature will permit; and of acquiring for themselves whatever happiness they are susceptible of.

It hence follows, that it must be repugnant both to the goodness and wisdom of the Deity to subject his creatures to any æconomical dispensation, that would allow them only to display the less noble of their faculties, leaving at the same time the more noble useless; and consequently hinder them from attaining to the highest felicity of which they are capable: such, however, would be the tendency of an æconomical dispensation, that should limit to simple sensations creatures capable of clear ideas, and of reasoning; because it must debar them from that species of happiness, procurable only by an evident knowledge of things, through operations free and rational; and degrade them to the enjoyment of sensuality alone.

From these premises, the soul of animals, supposing no essential difference between that and the human, would be in the state of such a

forced subjection; than which nothing can be more repugnant to the goodness, or the wisdom of the Creator, because so directly opposite to the laws of order. And now we may allow ourselves to be convinced, that the soul of animals, not having (as we are taught by experience) any knowledge of the Deity, any principle of religion, any notions of general good and evil, cannot be susceptible of those notions; in which exclusion is comprehended an infinite number of ideas, and spiritual properties. But suppose a question being put---What then is the nature of the soul of beasts, or animals, if it be not the same with that of man? The answer is---Nothing more reasonable can be conjectured, on so critical a subject, than the following plain and modest exposition of the matter.

Let us represent to ourselves the soul of an animal to be an immaterial and intelligent substance; but then we are to ascertain of what species. It must be, as we conceive, an active principle, endowed with sensations, but nothing more. Whereas the human soul, besides its essential activity, possesses two other faculties, that supply the former with matter wherewithal to exercise itself upon: the one of these two is called, the faculty of forming clear and distinct ideas; upon which the active principle, or the will, acts in the manner which is called *reflexion, judgment, reasoning, free choice*: the other is the sensitive faculty; and that consists in the perception of an infinite number of slight, trifling, involuntary ideas, that arise in so rapid a succession to each other, as that the soul does not distinctly discern them, yet is pleased with them,

and pleased with their succession; on whose account, however, the above principle is affected but with confused, not determinate desires.

Now, as these two faculties seem to be entirely independent of each other, why should we be deterred from supposing, in the chain of intelligences below the human soul, a species of spiritual beings more limited than the other, and which should have nothing in common with us, but the sensitive faculty; in short, a mind that should have only this faculty, and not the other, and therefore be capable but of indistinct ideas, and confused perceptions? Wherefore, this sort of mind being confined within much more narrow limits than the human, must be essentially, or specifically, distinguished from it. The activity of the latter will be restrained proportionably to its understanding, which being put into a circumscription of confused perceptions, it will therefore consist chiefly in confused desires, relative to such perceptions. It consequently will have but some features of the human soul, and will be, as it were, but its portrait in miniature.

The soul of brutes, according to our imagining, perceives objects by sensation; but it reflects not, has no distinct ideas of spirits, and but a confused one of bodies. How great is the difference of those corporeal ideas, to which sensation gives birth in us, from those which animals receive from the same source! It is doubtless through the inlets of the senses, that the idea of body is conveyed to the human soul: but then she is fraught, besides, with a faculty superior to that of the senses, and which gives

to this idea, quite a different complexion from that which the senses had communicated it.

For example, I see a tree; so does an animal: but my perception is quite different from the brute's. Yet perhaps, in what depends only upon the senses, there is no difference between us. But I have a perceptive faculty, which the animal has not. How so? Because I have the power of reflecting on an object that is presented to me by sensation. From the moment I see a tree, I have the abstract idea of a tree in general, which in my mind is separated from that of a plant, from that of a herb, from that of a house, &c. Now this view, which the human understanding forms to itself of an object, to which it is applied by sensation, is the principle of all reasoning founded upon reflection, distinct view, and abstract ideas of objects: by their means all relations and differences are discerned, and whatever determines a sort of unity in each object.

Mankind are liable to think themselves indebted to their senses, for that knowledge which they derive from a much more noble principle; I mean the intellectual faculty, that distinguishes, unites, combines, compares, and furnishes us with the power of discernment. Now, on the other side, let us strip the brute creation of all those privileges which they had usurped in our imagination; it must follow, that a soul merely sensitive, is limited in its activity, as it is in its intellectuality; can neither reason, nor reflect, nor have (properly speaking) a free choice: therefore, it is capable neither of virtues, nor vices, nor of any other

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progress but what is produced by mechanic impressions and habits. It has no notion of time past, or to come; all its content is centered in feeling and acting; and if by any actions it may seem to be possessed of those properties that are here refused to it, such delusive appearances are to be charged to the organical mechanism of the body.

By uniting the energy of mechanism with the action of an immaterial and self-moving principle, the chief difficulty disappears, and the supposed rational actions of brutes can be easily reduced under the sensitive principle joined to an organised body. But, according to the hypothesis of Des Cartes, mechanism tends only to the preservation of matter. But in this manner, both the end and use of animal machinery are inexplicable, because a mere machine cannot itself be the only end for which it was made, nor indeed any aggregate of matter, however exquisite the composition of its machinery: it must necessarily be intended for some other purpose besides self; otherwise we can assign no natural or final cause for the action and reaction observable in the machine; by which are meant those movements, excited in consequence of the impressions that have been excited by exterior objects.

Is it, for example, sufficient, in order to explain why animals, when hungry, seek for the food most suitable to them, to say, that an irritation, caused by a certain acid humour on the nerves of the stomach of a dog, being transmitted to the brain, obliges it to open its nerves towards the most convenient place, for the

more speedily sending of animal spirits towards the legs of the animal, whence follow the loco-motive efforts of the machine towards the food that is offered to its relief.

But what physical reason can be assigned for this impression on the nerves being transmitted to the brain, or for the peculiar influx of animal spirits into those muscles only, that can be instrumental in the animal's change of place for the good of the machine? What force is it, that impels the spirits precisely that way? Nay, should we even have so far succeeded, as to discover the physical cause, we should still be at a loss about, and make but unprofitable researches to attain the final end. An insensible machine can be actuated by no motive of interest, because it is not susceptible of any happiness; wherefore the result is, that nothing can procure to it any advantage, or be profitable in the least.

But a quite different kind of explanation arises from the hypothesis that unites mechanism with the sensitive principle; because it is founded upon a real utility, resulting thence to the sensitive principle, which could not exist, if there were not a machine with which it might be united: for this being an active principle, it has the power of putting the springs of the machine in play: and the wise creator hath so disposed of things, that it can put them in motion for its own happiness; they being constructed with so much art, that as, on one side, the movements which cause agreeable sentiments in the soul, tend at the same time to preserve the machine, that is the source of those sen-

timents; so, on the other, the desires of the soul, that correspond with these sentiments, produce in the machine imperceptible emotions, which, in virtue of the harmony subsisting between the two principles, tend in their turn to preserve it in good order; that thence agreeable sensations may be derived to the soul, and thus constitute the physical cause of the movements of each animal, and that are so wisely proportioned to the impressions which objects make thereon.

It is in the activity of the soul, that the power of moving the body is lodged; whose motions she directs and modifies conformably to the different sensations that are excited in her by particular external impressions, and which, according as they are agreeable or the reverse to the soul, are advantageous or detrimental to the machine. Now what proves equally remarkable is, that to this force, all blind as it may appear to some, is subjected an instrumental agent of such wonderful composition, that from a series of impressions, made on it by this blind force, are derived movements as regular as they are useful to the agent.

Thus we have established a mutual tie and necessity of support between the two principles. The soul, in quality of a sensitive principle, is subjected to the mechanism, which transmits to her, in a peculiar manner, the impressions made by external objects: but in the quality of active principle, she presides over another species of mechanism, that is rendered subordinate to her, and is to serve only as an instrument of action to her, which action it executes

with the strictest regularity. The soul then of animals, is both active and passive, still proportioning her activity to her sensations; but finding also, in the disposition of her machine, wherewithal to be affected agreeably, and to act profitably, not only for herself, but the general good of all the constituent parts of this world, she becomes the connective link of this double mechanism, and may therefore, in this case, be asserted as the apparent reason and final cause, according to the Deity's intention.

But to put this matter in a still clearer light, let us suppose one of those wonderful pieces of mechanism, executed by human art, wherein different weights and different springs are so industriously adjusted, that upon the least motion communicated thereto, it produceth effects very surprising and pleasing to the eyes; as may be said of those hydraulic machines mentioned by Mr. Regis, one of those wonderful clocks, moving pictures, animated perspectives. Let us now suppose that a child is bid to press on a spring, to take hold of, or only to touch, some other part; and that, in consequence, immediately should start forth to the sight superb decorations, and smiling landscapes. We also behold several artificial figures move about, and dance; and hear harmonious sounds, &c. In regard to the caused exertion of this machinery, is the child any more than a blind agent? He is quite ignorant of its construction, nor does he know by what laws all those wonderful effects that surprise him so much are produced; yet he alone is the cause of all those movements, and by touching a single spring he sets

the whole machine a going: he is the moving force that puts it in play. This mechanism is the workmanship of an ingenious artist, which now diverts the child, who knows nothing of its merit, yet thinks it made for him, because he set it a going, yet knows not why.

In the child behold the soul of beasts, although the example be not strictly perfect; for we must suppose something inherent in those springs, upon which the exertion of the machinery depends, that allures the child, and by pleasing solicits him to touch it. We must also suppose, that as the child moves in the grotto the moment he presses with his foot on a certain place, under which certain springs are placed, there immediately starts up a Neptune that comes towards him with a menacing air, and a trident in his hand. The child, terrified by this apparition, flies to another place, under which, other springs being placed, whereon he presses with his foot, either a more pleasing figure appears, or the former is made to vanish.

In all this, the child contributes but as a blind agent, whose action is determined by the pleasing or terrifying impression caused in him by certain objects. Even so it happens to the soul of beasts, and thus arises the wonderful harmony between the impressions made upon her by objects, and the movements which she makes in consequence.

The wise and regular œconomy observable in these movements, is to be ascribed solely to the supreme intelligence that produced the machine, for views worthy of his wisdom and goodness. The soul is the end for which the

machine was made, is the moving force thereof, and, though sometimes governed by mechanism, she governs it in her turn.

Do not the very same phenomena happen to the human species in certain circumstances? as for example, in all those actions of custom, or instinct, where it differs not from the sensitive principle, and is but a moving force unreflectingly hurried on. Therefore, what man is in some situations, animals are always; and perhaps, if the intelligent and rational principle were to be extinguished in man, we should discover, in his fabrick, as many of those rationally contrived movements, relative to the well-being of the body, or of what is tantamount, the sensitive principle, then remaining alone, as we remark in that of animals.

If the soul of beasts be immaterial, to which some object, and say, Then it must be a spirit, as insinuated according to the tenor of our hypothesis; if so, it must be immortal: you must then consequently allow it the privileges of immortality, as an inheritance inseparable from the spirituality of its nature. Now, whether you admit or oppose this consequence, you are equally involved in a most puzzling difficulty; because the immortality of the soul of animals is too shocking and too ridiculous an opinion to be maintained seriously before the tribunal of common reason, were it not proscribed by a superior authority.

Now, gentlemen, you are reduced to deny the consequence, and to assert, that every immaterial being is not immortal; but thereby you annihilate one of the strongest proofs which na-

ture furnisheth us with, for supporting the immortality of the human soul; which dogma is proved in this manner. The soul dies not with the body, because it is not a body, and is not dissoluble as the other is; and because it is not a whit like the human body, that can be made to perish by a derangement or separation of its constituent parts. This argument however is not founded upon a solid basis, unless the principle which it undertakes to defend be so too, viz. That whatever is immaterial is immortal, and that no immortal substance can be annihilated. But then this principle would be overturned by the example of what happens in the brute creation: therefore the allowing a spirituality to the soul of animals, destroys all proofs for the immortality of the human soul.

This objection would have some validity, if, through such reasoning, we had been conclusively led to a knowledge of the immortality of the human soul; but so far from it, that the absolute certainty, which we have concerning the immortality of the human soul, is founded on a revelation which we have received from the Deity; and that very revelation, which teacheth us that the human soul is immortal, informeth us at the same time, that the soul of animals enjoys not the same privilege: for though the soul of beasts should be spiritual, and die with the body, that infirms not in the least the doctrine of human souls being immortal; because these two averred truths we hold from the Deity.

We do not mean thereby to exclude reason from co-operating with revelation, to establish

the immortality of the human soul.^x But then she derives her proofs from other sources besides that of spirituality; which however may be made to take the lead, and be put at the head of all others. Mankind must be fortified against certain difficulties that astonish them, from being long accustomed to the indulging of an inclination, because natural to them, of thinking that the soul expires with the body; on perceiving, that, notwithstanding their distinction, the body hath so great a power over the soul, and to what a degree it influenceth either its happiness or misery, as well as the intimate and mutual dependence of these two substances one upon the other; which gave rise to the error, that their destiny is one and the same; because what injures the body, hurts the soul, and therefore what destroys the one, must necessarily annihilate the other.

But the dangerous tendency of this error, is best warded against by the argument founded upon the essential difference of these two substances, and which proves that the one can exist without the other: yet this argument is good but to a certain degree, beyond which it must not be pushed. It proves only that the soul can exist after the death of the body, in a state of dissociation; and farther it needeth not to prove. From this possibility being granted we take our departure, it being a most important point, to the farther investigation of such interesting questions. It is however no small advantage gained, when we make people strike to a conviction, that the human soul is placed

beyond the reach of all those injuries that can destroy the body.

Now, if we reflect upon the nature of the soul of animals, we descry nothing therein that induceth us to think, that its spirituality will save it from annihilation. This species of soul must be acknowledged, however, as an immaterial substance, fraught with a certain degree of activity and intelligence: but this intelligence is limited to indistinct perceptions; this activity consists but in confused desires, of which those indistinct perceptions are the immediate motive. It is very probable, that a soul merely sensitive, and whose faculties cannot be displayed without the necessary concurrence of an organised body, has been made to last but as long as the body; nor is there any thing incongruous to think, that a principle, which is only capable of feeling, and has been created by the Deity for no other purpose, but to be united to a certain organisation of matter, should, upon its dissolution, cease both to feel and exist; because the compact of union can then no longer subsist.

A soul, thus merely sensitive, has no faculties which it can exercise in a state of separation from the body; it can make no increase in the articles either of felicity, or of knowledge; nor, like the human soul, contribute eternally to the glory of the Creator, by an eternal progress of enlightened intellects, and still improving virtues. Moreover, it reflects not, foresees not, forms not any desires about futurity; and is only occupied about its sensations, for the present moment of existence. It cannot, therefore, be in-

sisted on, that the Deity is bound, by his goodness, to grant it a good, of which it has no idea; and to prepare for it an eternity, which it neither hopes, nor desires. Immortality is not intended for such a soul; being a good which it is not qualified to enjoy, because devoid of reflexion; and there is a necessity of anticipating in thought the most remote futurity; and also of being able to say to itself, "I am immortal; and come what may, I shall never cease to exist, and be happy."

The objection, taken from the suffering of animals, is the most formidable of all that can be brought against the spirituality of their souls; nay, it is deemed to be of such importance, that the Cartesians thought they might make use of it as a proof, in support of their doctrine; and that would be alone sufficient to extricate them from the many difficulties, into which it had entangled their reasoning. If animals are not mere machines; but can feel, discern, and are susceptible of pain, as well as pleasure; then are they liable to numberless afflictions, without having deserved them through any fault of theirs; since they could never have trespassed against the rules of that order, with which they were totally unacquainted. In this case then, where is the goodness, where is the equity, of the Creator? And how are we to assert the truth of that principle, which is to be looked upon as one of sacred order's eternal laws? "Under a just God
 "no creature can be miserable without having
 "deserved it." But what here aggravates the unhappy condition of animals, is, that they suffer in this life, without any hopes of a compensation in the other, if their soul expires

with the body; which supposition adds greatly to the difficulty. Father Malbranche, however, has very dexterously handled this objection, in his reply to the accusations of M. de la Ville.

The principle of Saint Austin, "That under a just God no creature can be miserable, without having deserved it," is applicable only to rational beings; because the ideas of justice, of merit, of demerit, suppose a free agent on one hand, and relatively, on the other, of its being an object of the Deity's concern. No agent but one, so circumstanced, can be capable of vice or virtue, or of deserving punishment or reward. Therefore the principle, or maxim, now in question, has nothing to do with the soul of animals; because, although it hath a sensitive faculty, it has not a faculty to reason of liberty, of vice, or virtue; therefore having no idea of order, rule or law, of moral good or evil, it is not capable of any action morally good, or evil; and as it cannot enjoy pleasure, as a reward, pain cannot be inflicted on it as a punishment.

This principle must then, according to some, undergo an alteration, and be confined to this meaning; "Under a just God no creature can be necessitated to suffer, without having deserved it:" yet the absolute truth of the principle is so far from being rendered manifestly uncontroversial, that it may be charged with falshood. The soul of animals is susceptible of sensations, and of nothing more: it is therefore capable of being happy, to a certain degree. But how is that to be effected? By uniting itself to an organised body; then its constitution being such, as that an obscure perception,

which shall be excited therein by the means of a series of movements, to which external objects give birth, must be productive to it of an agreeable sensation; but then, by a necessary consequence, this very soul will be equally susceptible of pain, as of pleasure, through the mediation of its body.

If the perception of a certain order of movements gives it pleasure, which in another quite opposite must give it pain; then, according to the general laws of nature, this body, to which the soul is united, must often receive impressions of the latter sort, as it does of the former; and must consequently be sometimes agitated with painful sensations, as at other times by agreeable ones. This alternative is absolutely necessary for abetting its application to preserve the machine, to which its existence is so intimately united; and to contribute its allotted share of utility to other beings in the universal system.

Things could not be otherwise; because, if so, then must the course of nature be changed, the laws of motion be suspended; for it is they that produce this alternative of opposite impressions in the living body, as they produce those of their generation and destruction; and from these laws is derived the greatest good to the immaterial system, and intelligences therewith connected, because a suspension of these laws would subvert all. What then imparts the just idea of a beneficent Deity? That when he acts, he tends to a good end, and that his every act produces a good; and that therefore there is no being created by his power, but what

gains rather than loses by existence; and such is the condition of animals: for could we scrutinise their interior structure, we should therein discover a well-directed compensation of pain and pleasure, which would add a new lustre to the glory of divine goodness. Then should we discover, that in those who suffer unequally, there is a proportion, an inequality, either of pleasure, or duration; and that the degree of pain which might render their existence unhappy, is precisely that which destroys it: in a word, if one were to deduct the sum of evils in human life, there would be always at the end of the calculation, a residue of good, pure and untainted; for which it is indebted to divine goodness alone. Then should we perceive, that divine wisdom had so well managed things, as that, in every sensitive creature, the degree of evil which it suffers, without depriving it of the advantage of existing, is for the universal good.

We are by no means to imagine, that the suffering of beasts resembles ours, they being unacquainted with a great number of the evils to which we are liable, and they being besides deprived of the compensations which we have: because they cannot enjoy the pleasures which reason furnisheth to us, they feel not also the pains that are derived from the same source. Moreover, the perception of beasts being confined to the indivisible point of the present now, they suffer much less than we do, even by pains of the same kind; because neither impatience, nor a dread of future events, do exasperate their ills, and that they are lucki-

ly deprived of reason, an agent ingenious to magnify every misfortune.

But is not providence taxable with cruelty and injustice, to make the souls of animals first suffer, then to annihilate them, by destroying their bodies for the preservation of others? Is it not an absolute subversion of all order, that the soul of a fly, which is much more noble than the noblest body, because a spiritual substance, should be destroyed, to serve for nourishment to a swallow, that might have fed upon something else? Is it just that the soul of a pullet must suffer, and be annihilated, because a man wants to dine or sup? or that the soul of a horse should suffer such a multitude of pains and fatigues for such a number of years: and for what? Why truly, that man and his property should be conveniently carried from one place to another. In the prodigious number of souls that are daily annihilated, for the transitory advantage of other living bodies besides their own, can we trace the least criteria of that wise and equitable subordination, which a beneficent Deity should observe?

This argument would be of great weight, if the relationship of the soul of animals to their bodies tended to, and ended in, their advantage alone; because all spiritual substances are superior to the material: therefore be it observed, that it is not to the advantage of bodies, merely as bodies, that the Creator hath given existence to the soul of animals: no; it is for a more extensive advantage, for that of intelligent essences; because, if a horse carries me, and a pullet nourisheth me, these are indeed effects im-

mediately relative to my body, yet not terminating there, but in my soul, because she alone enjoyeth all the advantages thence accruing; for the body being made for the soul alone, all the advantages it is capable of receiving, are appropriated to the soul. All the sweets of animal life are for her, because she alone can taste, relish, and enjoy felicity.

The question to be solved now is, whether the soul of a horse, a dog, and a pullet, may not be of an order sufficiently inferior to the human soul, that the Creator may make the former subservient in procuring a certain degree of happiness to the latter, without violating the rules of order and proportion. The same question may be advanced concerning the fly, relative to the swallow, that is of a more exalted nature.

But as for annihilation, it is not to be considered as an evil to a creature that reflects not upon its existence, that is incapable of foreseeing its end, and of forming comparisons between existence and non-existence, although existence be a real advantage for it, because it feels. Death then, in regard to souls merely sensitive, is but the subtraction of a good, that was by no means due to them: it is not therefore an evil that poisons the gifts of the Creator, and that renders the creature unhappy; so far from it, that although the numberless souls and lives, which the Deity calls forth daily out of nothing, are proofs of his divine goodness, yet their destruction each day can furnish no matter of impeachment against this attribute; because those lives and souls have a relation to the world,

of which they make a part. They must therefore contribute to the utility of those beings that compose it; and it suffices that this general utility excludes not that which is peculiar to them, and that their happiness consists in some measure in their contributing to the happiness of others.

That celebrated work, called the *Philosophical Amusement on the Language of Beasts*, written by Father Boujean, Jesuit, has made too great a noise in the world, for us to omit mentioning it here. If the system proposed by him be not true, it is at least ingenious. Either beasts have a soul, or not; which he pronounces to be a ticklish and puzzling question for a Christian philosopher to decide.

Des Cartes, adopting for principle, that all the actions of animals can be explained by the laws of mechanism, ventured to assert, that they were no more than simple machines, mere automata. Against which opinion our reason takes the alarm, rises up in opposition; and, even from an internal conviction joining therewith, we feel an immediate determination, and not from any prejudice, to proscribe such a doctrine as Des Cartes's from amongst us; which persuasion, interwoven with our very frame, can be thus accounted for.

It is impossible that the men, with whom I live in social commerce, can be but so many automata or parrots instructed, although I know not by what method: for I discover, in all their exterior deportment, tones of voice, and gestures of the body, that seem to indicate their being directed by a soul. I discover also,

a certain concatenation in their ideas; which induces me to suppose their being marshalled by a reasoning principle, and to discover likewise a connection in their dialogues with me, and more or less of wit in the works which they compose: wherefore, warranted by an assemblage of such phænomena, we may dare venture to pronounce them capable of thinking in effect.

It is not to be denied at the same time, that the Deity might, if he would, produce an automaton perfectly resembling the human body in every article, which, by the laws of mechanism only, might speak, form discourses, and write books truly methodised: but that this is not the fact, we are informed by eternal truth; and we find a sufficient proof within ourselves, in the soul, the reasoning principle which combines, unites, and explains, all those phænomena that affect us so strongly in those of our own likeness; whereby we are encouraged to declare them men as we are, and are consequently led to think in a similar manner concerning animals.

When we perceive a dog, upon our calling him, run up immediately to us; caress us, when we flatter; tremble, when we menace; obey us, when we command him; and at other times show all the exterior signs that mark the different sentiments of joy, sadness, grief, fear, desire, the passions of love, and hatred; we cannot help concluding, that a dog hath in him a principle of knowledge and sentiment, whatsoever it be. It is enough for us, if the soul, which we suppose him to have, re-

veals to us a reason sufficient to explain every appearance and motion which we behold in him, that we should declare against his being a machine; because, if he were such, his composition would require such an unwieldy multitude of springs, as could appear to be no way consonant with the wisdom of a Deity, that always acts by the most simple means.

It is very probable that so elevated a genius as Des Cartes adopted a system so revolting to our ideas, only as a *jeu d'esprit*, or philosophical subterfuge, in order to contradict the Peripatetics, whose doctrine relative to the knowledge of beasts cannot be supported. Nay, it would be better to adhere to the machinery-system of Des Cartes, if there were nothing else to be opposed to it but the substantial form of the Peripatetics, that is neither spirit nor matter. This mixed substance of theirs is a mere chimaera, an *ens rationis*, of which we can form to ourselves no conviction, or even the least idea.

What, then, must we allow that animals have a spiritual soul, like to that of man? If that were so, then must their souls be immortal and free: they will then be capable of meriting and demeriting, will be worthy of rewards and punishments: there must also be a paradise and a hell prepared for them: animals then must be acknowledged as a species of man, and man a species of the animal genius: but such tenets are discountenanced by the christian religion.

Such perplexing difficulties are sufficient to embarrass the most enterprising genius; but a clue to distinguish and extricate us from them

is ready furnished by the Jesuits entertaining system, if we shall chuse to adopt it; because, according to its doctrine, which insinuates that the Deity had doomed the demons to inhabit animal bodies, we can easily conceive how they can think, know, feel, and have a spiritual soul, without giving the least alarm to religion.

There is nothing absurd in this supposition: it flows naturally from the very principles of christianity, since we can prove, by several passages of scripture, that the demons do not as yet suffer the tortures of hell, to which they are not to be assigned until the last day, that of general judgment. What better use then can divine justice make of so many legions of reprobated spirits, than to employ a part of them in the animating of so many millions of animals of every species, with which this world is replete, and that make us admire the wisdom and omnipotence of the Creator?

But wherefore, it may be asked, are animals, whose souls, according to this system, are more perfect than ours, less ingenious than we? To that question hear the Jesuit's answer. It happens in animals, as in mankind, that the operations of the mind are subjected to the material organisation of the **machine** to which it is united; and the organisation in the animal kind, being of a more gross and less perfect nature than in the human, it follows, that knowledge, the cogitative faculty, and every spiritual operation in beasts, must be less perfect than in man. So humbling and shameful a degradation for such proud spirits, inasmuch as

it reduces them to the low rank of beasts, is the first effect of divine vengeance, that waits but for the last day to display the completion of their punishment upon them in a far more terrible manner.

Another reason, which proves that animal bodies are tenanted by demons, which therein suffer a kind of metamorphosis, can be derived from the excessive pain to which the greatest part of them are exposed, and daily feel. "How much are horses to be pitied!" is a frequent expression of ours, when we see one beaten in a most cruel manner by an unfeeling carter. How sad is the situation of animals sequestered to live in woods! Now if animal bodies contain not demons, let it be explained to us, for what crime committed they are doomed to come into this life, subjected to so many horrid evils, whose excess becometh, in every other system, an incomprehensible mystery; whereas, if we betake ourselves to foster the opinion of Father Boujeant, no matter of debate can be more easily conciliated.

The rebellious spirits, or fallen angels, deserve a much more rigorous punishment than that which they now undergo, and thereby enjoy even a kind of happiness in their final punishments being suspended: by which mild proceeding, the goodness of the Deity is justified; as is the conduct of mankind: for upon what other foundation could they have a right to put millions of animals to death without any necessity, nay, often, for mere diversion, but that of the Deity's authorising them so to do? How could a just and beneficent power

give such a right to man over animals, since, after all, they have as great a sensibility of pain and of their destruction as we have, if they were not so many guilty victims of heavenly vengeance?--- which solves the difficulty.

But let us attend to what our philosophical Jesuit farther advances upon this head, which indeed gives a still more striking and interesting view of this affair. Animals (he says) are naturally vicious, particularly carnivorous animals; and birds of prey are remarkable for their cruelty. Several insects of the same species devour each other: cats are perfidious and ungrateful; monkeys are mischievous; dogs are envious: in short, most are jealous of each other, and very vindictive; not to mention several other vices which they are known to be guilty of.

Now, of the propositions that present themselves spontaneously here, one must be granted; viz. either the Deity has taken a pleasure in forming beasts to be so vicious as they are, and to give us models of the most wicked and shameful actions; or, like man, they are guilty of an original sin, that has depraved the purity of their pristine nature.

We are shocked at the very thought of the former proposition, because it is directly opposite to the text of holy writ, which says, that whatever came from the hand of God at the creation of the world, was good, and very good; but if animals then were what they now are, how could it be said of them that they were good, nay, very good? Where is the good in a monkey being so mischievous, a dog so en-

Vious, a cat so perfidious? That none can be, is most certain.

We must then have recourse to the latter proposition, and say, that the nature of beasts or animals, like that of man, has been corrupted by some original sin; which supposition we have no firm ground to rest upon: besides, it proves equally shocking to religion and reason as the former.

Since we can declare for neither of these parties, let us adopt the system of demons degraded into animals; then all is explained, and every difficulty vanishes. The souls of beasts are those rebellious spirits that rendered themselves criminal in regard to the Almighty. The sin of beasts is not an original one; but it is a sin by each personally committed, and that has corrupted their nature in all its substances: and hence spring all the vices they are guilty of.

To those desirous of knowing what becomes of the demon after the death of the animal, a satisfactory answer is at hand. Pythagoras formerly taught, at the very moment in which mortals departed from this life, that their souls entered into some other new-formed bodies, either of the human species, or into those of animals; therein to begin a new life, and so successively to the end of time.

But this system insupportable, not only in regard to man alone, but to scripture also, by which it is proscribed, agrees admirably well with the Jesuits relatively to beasts, and shocks neither religion nor reason. The Deity having fixed the fate of demons to become beasts, they necessarily survive to their bodies, and would there-

fore cease to fulfill their destiny, if, their former body destroyed, they were not immediately to transmigrate into another, there to commence a new life under another form.

If beasts are allowed to be capable of knowledge and sentiment, they must consequently have a language to mutually communicate their wants to each other. This idea presents nothing impossible; let us therefore enquire if such a language be necessary for the well-being of animals. That they have knowledge to a certain degree is a principle which nobody will deny; and we cannot see why the author of nature should have given this knowledge for any other end, but to render them capable of providing for their wants, as well as their self-preservation, with every article necessary and fitting for the condition and form of life, which they are to pass through by his omnipotent decree.

To give a new force to this adopted principle, let it be observed, that several species of animals are made to live in society, and others in family, as it were the male and female with their young ones, until such time as they shall be grown up. Now, if we should suppose that they have not a language of some sort to make themselves understood to each other, how are we to conceive that such a society can subsist? How would beavers be able to aid each other in building their abodes, if they had not a language as intelligible to them, as ours is to us?

Knowledge alone, without a reciprocal communication by means of an intelligible and known language to the parties, sufficeth not

for the keeping up of society, or executing any design which requires union among the agents, with combination and sagacity. How could wolves, for example, be able to concert their stratagems of war in surprising flocks of sheep, if they did not understand each other? How could swallows, without communicating their intention to each other, assemble, and come to a resolution of plastering up a sparrow in the nest of one of their companions, when every attempt to dislodge that alien intruder had proved of no avail? A thousand other instances might be quoted in the support of this argument. But a point that admits of no difficulty here is, if Nature has made animals capable of a language that is to them a foreign one, how could, or why should, she have refused to them the faculty of understanding and conversing with each other, in one natural to their rank of existence? Beasts speak to and understand us very well.

From the moment we admit the system of beasts conversing with and understanding each other, we become very desirous of knowing what can be the nature or subjects of their conversations. However difficult a task it may seem to be to explain their language, and give a dictionary of it, yet father Boujeant hath attempted it. We may be bold enough to assert, that their language must be very limited, because it extends no farther than to the necessities of life; for nature has given to animals the faculty of speaking, to no other end but that they should mutually communicate to each other their desires, their sentiments, &c. in

order, through such means, to be able to satisfy all their wants, and whatever necessarily contributes to self-preservation.

All their thoughts, and all their feelings, are bound to the narrow sphere of animal life: they have no abstracted ideas, and are consequently unacquainted with metaphysical reasonings: they form no curious researches concerning the objects around them: their knowledge is occupied entirely about their health, their self-preservation, and the care of procuring every good, and shunning every evil. Now, it being established for a principle, that the knowledge, the desires, the wants of beasts, and consequently their expressions, are confined to whatever is useful or necessary for their preservation, or multiplying of the species, we may conclude, that, with some attention, it can be no difficult matter to attain to a knowledge of what they say to each other.

The best method to follow, for a curious observer, is, first to imagine himself to be placed in the various circumstances of a person who hath neither a knowledge of, nor can express, any thing but the objects of his wants; by which means he will discover, in his own dialogue of necessity, an interpretation of all that animals can have to say to each other. But as the article which most nearly interests them, is the propagation of the species, or at least a pursuit after the measures precluding to it, their conversation is most frequently upon that topic; and the Jesuit, rather too gallant for his profession, describes their amours with great vivacity, nay, gives a very entertaining dictionary

of their voluptuous and tender phrases; which indeed would have come with much better grace from a pen that writes for the opera-house.

Its being the work of a Jesuit was what gave offence; because a due regard to his religious profession should have hindered him from employing his pen in the delineation of amorous engagements. Gallantry is never pardonable in a philosophical work, but when the author is a laic, and a man of the gay world: yet even in that circumstance it has been objected to; for by pretending to give to the dryness of reasoning a complexion of sprightliness, the better to allure readers with a winning air, we often unawares slide into the ridiculous: that always causeth a scandal to ensue, when the writer's profession should have proved a check on his imagination, forbidding it to delight in such unsuitable and irregular fallies.

It must however appear to all candid minds, that the Jesuit has been too severely censured, for what he had advanced about beasts being animated by demons; because it is obvious, that he never looked upon his system but as a whimsical and extravagant fancy; which is most evidently implied, by the very title he gave to his work, *Philosophical Amusement*! Moreover, the several strokes of pleasantry, with which he enlivens the work, prove that he did not think it founded upon arguments cogent enough to effect a general persuasion of its being true.

We must notwithstanding be so ingenuous as to own, that by this system a number of difficulties are solved; and that it would be a some-

what difficult matter, to convict it of falshood: which would serve only as a proof, how easy it is, by supporting a chimerical system, to puzzle very ingenious minds, though not to persuade them; for, as Mr. Fontenelle says, on an occasion pretty similar, there is nothing but truth endowed with the privilege of persuading: even without making a display of all her proofs, she enters so naturally into the mind, that when we but hear her, though for the first time, upon any subject, we seem to remember her as an old acquaintance.

If we may be allowed to pronounce our opinion of this short treatise, we declare it to be both pleasing and entertaining, and censurable but for two faults; the one, its being the work of a regular clergyman; and the other, the capricious intermixture of pleasant fallies among objects, in which the interest of religion is nearly concerned, and to which we can never pay too great a respect and veneration.



L I B R A R I E S.

A Library is a place, of more or less extent, furnished with shelves, drawers, and presses; in which books are placed, according to their different classes. Besides this its literal sense, the name of Library is applied to a chosen number of books. Some authors, by giving a figurative stretch to its meaning, have given the title of Library to certain col-

lections, or compilations, of works which they have published; such is the Rabbinic library, the library of Ecclesiastic Authors, and *Bibliotheca Patrum*, the library of the Fathers, &c.

And, congruously to the purport of the last meaning assigned, have ecclesiastic authors given, by way of excellence, the title of Library to the collection of inspired books, which we now call *the Bible*, in preference to all other books. According to the opinion of the most learned personages, there were no books before the time of Moses; consequently, the Hebrew people could be possessed of no library till after his death: then his works were collected, and preserved with great care; to which afterwards many other works were added.

The Hebrew books may be divided into sacred and profane: the only object of the former was religion; that of the latter was a knowledge of natural philosophy, as well as of civil and political doctrines. The sacred books were preserved either in public places, or sequestered in private inclosures: by Public Places are meant the synagogues; but principally the temple of Jerusalem, wherein were preserved, with infinite respect, the stone tables on which the Deity had written his ten commandments, and had given orders to Moses for depositing them in the ark of alliance.

Not only the tables of the law, but the books of the prophets, were preserved in the most secret part of the sanctuary; where no person was admitted either to read, or to touch them: the high-priest only had a right to enter into this sacred place, and that but once a year.

By which means, those sacred books were kept far from the reach of any corrupt interpretations; and continued ever after to be the test of all other copies, as Moses had predicted, in the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, when he commanded the Levites to deposit those books in the ark.

There are authors who think, that Moses, some short time before his death, had ordered twelve copies of the law to be made out, which he caused to be distributed among the twelve tribes: but Maimonides asserts, that he had ordered thirteen copies; that is, twelve for the twelve tribes, and one for the Levite; on delivering which, he thus expressed himself to them all, “Receive the book of the law, which “God himself has given unto you”. The interpreters are not agreed among themselves, whether this sacred volume was deposited in the ark, with the stone tables, or in the little cabinet that was separated from it.

Be that as it may, Joshua wrote a book, which he afterwards added to the books of Moses. All the prophets took care to have copies made of their sermons and their exhortations, as we learn in the fifteenth chapter of Jeremiah, and in several other places of the scripture; which sermons and exhortations were preserved in the temple, to serve as an instruction for posterity. These works composed a library much more estimable for their intrinsic value, than their number of volumes.

We know no more concerning the sacred library kept in the temple: be it however remembered, that after the return of the Jews

from the captivity of Babylon, Nehemiah collected the books of Moses, those of Kings, and the Prophets, of which he formed a library; and in this undertaking was aided by Esdras. According to the opinion of several, he restored the Pentateuch, and all the ancient holy writings that had been dispersed, when the Babylonians took Jerusalem, and burnt the temple, with the library that was therein contained: but the learned in general are not agreed upon this point, which is a difficult matter to be cleared up.

Some authors pretend, that this library owed its re-establishment to Judas Maccabæus; because the greatest part of it had been burnt by Antiochus, as we read in the first chapter of the book of Maccabees: but, suppose one were to grant that it subsisted until the destruction of the second temple, there still recurs the difficulty of determining the place where it was deposited; but in all probability it shared the same fate which the town had undergone: for although rabbi Benjamin affirms, that the tomb of the prophet Ezekiel, with the library of the first and second temple, was to be seen in his time, in a place situated near the banks of the Euphrates; yet Manasses of Groeningen, and several other learned personages, the veracity of whose testimony cannot be doubted of, and who had travelled to Mesopotamia on purpose, declare, that there is not a track to be found of what rabbi Benjamin pretended to have seen; and that throughout the whole territory there is neither a Hebrew tomb, nor library.

Besides the grand library, which was preserved with a religious veneration in the temple, there was one in every synagogue. Authors almost unanimously concur in opinion, that the academy of Jerusalem consisted of four hundred and fifty synagogues, or colleges, each having its library, where the scripture was publicly read. Besides these public libraries, kept in the temple and the synagogues, there were private ones of the sacred writings: every Jew had one; because they were obliged to have the books relative to their religion, and even to transcribe a copy of the law, in their own hand writing.

There were other libraries in the celebrated universities, or schools, of the Jews. They had several towns rendered famous by the sciences that were cultivated there: among them was that called by Joshua the *City of Letters*, and that is believed to have been Cariatsepher, situated near the confines of the tribe of Juda; and in latter times, that known by the name of Tiberias, was no less renowned for its school. It is very probable, that all those academies were furnished with libraries.

Since the entire dispersion of the Jews, at the ruin of Jerusalem and the temple by Titus, their doctors and rabbins have written a prodigious number of works, which are well known to be nothing better than a heap of visionary stuff, and ridiculous tales; for in the countries where they are tolerated, and have synagogues, there no other books are to be seen but those of the law. The Talmud, the Paraphrases, and the collections of rabbinical tra-

ditions, are not formed by them into a library: the Chaldeans and the Egyptians, being the next neighbours to Judea, were probably the first whom the Jews instructed in their sciences; to whom we may add the Phenicians and Arabians.

It is certain that the sciences were cultivated to a degree of perfection by all those nations, and especially by the Egyptians, who are looked upon by some authors to have been the most learned people in the world, both for pagan theology, and their skill in physics: it is therefore most probable, that from their great love of study, they have produced learned works, whose collection must amount to a very considerable number.

We do not find that authors make any mention of the Chaldeans having had libraries: all we know of them is, that they had learned men in several branches, particularly in astronomy, as appears by a series of observations, made during a course of 1900 years, which Calisthenes sent to Aristotle, after the taking of Babylon by Alexander.

Eusebius *de Prop. Evang.* says, the Phenicians were very curious in their collections; but that the most numerous, as well as the best chosen libraries, were those of the Egyptians, who surpassed all other nations by their books and knowledge. Diodorus of Sicily informeth us, that Osymandias was the first who founded a library in Egypt: he succeeded to Proteus, and was cotemporary with Priam king of Troy. Pierius relates, that this prince had so great a passion for study, as induced him to have

a magnificent library erected, and ornamented with the statues of all the Egyptian gods. On its frontispiece these words were written: *The Treasure of Remedies for the Soul.*

But neither Diodorus of Sicily, nor any other of the historians, have transmitted to us the number of volumes which it contained: all we can pretend to say of the matter is, that they could not be very numerous, by reason of the fewness of books then existing; and that they were all written by the priests: as for those of their two Mercurys, which were revered as divine works, they are known by name only; and those of Manetho are much posterior to the times we are speaking of.

There was a very fine library at Memphis, now called Grand Cairo, and kept in the temple of Vulcan. It is from this library, that Naucrates accuseth Homer to have stolen the Iliad and Odyssey, and published them afterwards as his own productions.

But the most superb, and most magnificent library of Egypt, or perhaps in the world, was that of the Ptolomies at Alexandria: it was begun under Ptolomeus Soter, and completed by the care of Demetrius Phalereus, who dispatched proper persons to purchase books in all other nations, and not to stop at any price. The collection formed by him, according to Saint Epiphanius, amounted to fifty-four thousand eight hundred volumes. Joseph says, there were two hundred thousand, and that Demetrius hoped to have, in a short time, five hundred thousand: but Eusebius affirms, that at the death of Philadelphus, who succeeded

Soter, this library contained but one hundred thousand volumes. It is true, that under his successors it increased by degrees, and at last amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes. By the word Volume we are to understand a kind of rolls, containing much less of matter than what we call volumes.

He caused to be purchased for him, from Neleus, at a most extravagant price, a part of the works of Aristotle, and a great number of other volumes sought for at Rome, at Athens, in Persia, and Ethiopia. One of the most valuable articles in his library, was the scripture, and kept in the principal apartment. After he had it translated into Greek by the seventy-two interpreters sent to Ptolomy for that purpose by the high-priest Eleazar, that sovereign had commissioned Aristeus, a very learned man and captain of his guards, to make a demand of it.

One of his successors, called Ptolomeus Phisco, although a cruel prince, inherited the passion for enriching the library at Alexandria. Some historians relate this extraordinary anecdote of him: that in a time of famine, he refused to let the Athenians receive the corn they were wont to procure from Egypt, unless they would let him have the original copies of the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, which he kept, but sent back to them in their stead very faithful transcripts, with a cession of the fifteen talents that had been given as a pledge for the safe return of the originals.

When Julius Cæsar was besieged in Alexandria, he found himself under a necessity of setting

fire to the fleet as it entered the port: the wind unluckily spreading the flames farther than Cæsar had intended they should reach, they destroyed all the houses that stood contiguous to the port, the magazine of corn, and this celebrated library.

Some authors believe that there were but four hundred thousand volumes burnt, and that, with as many books as could be saved from this conflagration, as well as with a part of the wrecks of the library of the kings of Pergamus, of which two hundred thousand volumes had been given to Cleopatra by Mark Anthony, the new library of Serapion was formed, which, in a short time, became very considerable.

But after divers revolutions under the Roman emperors, in which the library was sometimes plundered, and sometimes re-established; it was at last entirely destroyed, in the year of Christ 650, by Amry, general of the Saracens, pursuant to an order of the califf Omar, who commanded, that the books of the library of Alexandria should be distributed among the public baths of that city; to the warming of which they served during the term of six months.

There was a flourishing library at Suza, a famous city of Persia, where Metasthenes consulted the annals of its monarchy, in order to compose the history which he has left us. Diodorus of Sicily makes mention of this library; but it is generally believed to have contained rather a collection of laws, charters, and orders of their kings, than a collection of scientific books: it was a depositary, not unlike to that of our *Chambre des Comptes*.*

* A peculiar department in the French parliament.

We have no informations, to be relied on as authentic, concerning the Grecian history, before the wars of Thebes and Troy. It would be therefore mis-spending time, to look for books in that nation before those epochs. The Lacedemonians had no books; they expressed their meaning so concisely, and with so few words, that writing they held to be superfluous; because they trained their memories to prove sufficient for a due retaining of every thing that was necessary to be known.

The Athenians on the contrary, who were great speakers, wrote also a great deal; and from the time that the sciences began to flourish there, Greece became soon enriched with a considerable number of performances in every kind. Valerius Maximus relates, that the tyrant Pyfistrates was the first Grecian who resolved on making a collection of the works of the learned: to which design he was prompted, in all likelihood, by his policy; for by establishing a library for the use of the public, he hoped he should conciliate to him the friendship of those who were hurt by the loss of their liberty, and groaned under the yoke of his usurpation.

Cicero informs us, that we are obliged to Pyfistrates for having collected into one book the works of Homer, which before had been sung throughout Greece in detached parts, and without any order. But Plato ascribes this honour to Hipparchus, the son of Pyfistrates; others, to Polen; but some, to Lycurgus, and Zenodotus the Ephesian.

After the decease of Pyfistrates, the Athenians made great additions to this library, and founded others; but when Xerxes was become

master of Athens, he had all the books removed into Persia; yet, if we are to believe Aulugellus, Seleucus Nicanor had them brought back to Athens some centuries after.

Zuringer asserts, there was at that time a magnificent library in the isle of Cnidus, one of the Cyclades, which was burnt by the order of Hippocrates the physician, because the inhabitants refused to follow his doctrine. This event, however, is much doubted of. Clearcus the tyrant of Heraclea, and disciple of Plato and Isocrates, founded a library in the capital of his dominion, which gained him the esteem of all his subjects, notwithstanding the many acts of cruelty he had practised on them.

Camerarius mentions the library of Apamea as one of the most celebrated of antiquity: Angelus Rocha, in his catalogue of the library of the Vatican, says, that it consisted of more than twenty thousand volumes.

If the ancient Greeks had but few books, the ancient Romans had still less; but in process of time they became, like the Jews, possessed of two sorts of libraries, the one public, the other private. In the former were contained the edicts and the laws concerning the politics and government of the state: the others were composed of such contents, as are commonly to be seen in the possession of private persons, and like to that which Paulus Emilius had transported to Rome from Macedonia, after the defeat of Perseus. There were also sacred libraries, that contained nothing but what related to the religion of the Romans, and were under the absolute direction of the pontiffs and augurs.

And this is pretty near all we can learn from writers, concerning the public libraries of the Romans: as for their private, it is beyond a doubt, that no nation had more advantages or opportunities of forming such numerous or valuable ones as they, by their being masters of the greatest part of the then known world.

We read in history, that, on the taking of Carthage, the senate made a present to Regulus's family of all the books that were found in that city, and had translated into Latin twenty-eight volumes, written by Mago, the Carthaginian, upon agriculture.

Plutarch assures us, that Paulus Emilius distributed among his children the library of Perseus, king of Macedonia, whom he led in triumph to Rome: but Isidorus positively asserts, that he gave it to the public. Asinius Pollio did still more; he founded a library on purpose for the use of the public, consisting of a part of the spoils he had taken from all the enemies vanquished by him, as well as of a great number of books in every kind which he had purchased. Moreover, he adorned the building with the portraits of the learned, and particularly with that of Varro.

Varro had a very splendid library; and it is natural to conclude, that Cicero's was not less considerable, especially when we reflect on his vast erudition, consummate taste, and elevated rank: but what added greatly to its magnificence, was the accession of his friend Atticus's library, which he preferred to the immense treasure of Cræsus.

Plutarch mentions the library of Lucullus,

as one of the most considerable in the world, both for the number of volumes which it contained, and the superb monuments with which it was decorated.

Cæsar's library was worthy of him, and nothing could contribute more effectually to the enhancing of its reputation, than the learned Varro's having the superintendence and direction of it.

Augustus founded a library on mount Palatin, near to the temple of Apollo. Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, make mention of it, as a place where the poets went to recite and deposit their productions.

Scripta Palatinus quæcunque recepit Apollo.

HOR.

“The works received by Palatin Apollo.”

Vespasian founded a library near to the temple of Peace, in imitation of Julius and Augustus Cæsar.

But the most magnificent of all the ancient libraries, was that of Trajan, which he had called after him the *Ulpian Library*: it was founded for the use of the public; and, according to the report of Cardinal Volaterrani, the emperor had given orders, that therein should be recorded all the glorious actions of the Roman princes, and decrees of the senate, written on a fine cloth to be covered with ivory. Some authors affirm, that Trajan had all the books that could be found in the cities, &c. of the people whom he had conquered, immediately carried to Rome, in order to increase his library. It is more than probable, that Pliny the younger,

his favourite, advised him to take this method of enriching it.

Besides the above-mentioned, there was another remarkable library at Rome, founded by Simonicus, preceptor of the emperor Gordianus. Isidorus and Boetius give it the highest encomiums: they say it contained eight thousand chosen volumes, and that the apartment which contained them was paved with gilt marble; the walls were wainscoted with glass and ivory; the shelves, cases, presses, desks, &c. were made of ebony and cedar.

The primitive Christians, renouncing every other care but that of saving their souls, burnt all the books which they could lay hold of, that bore no affinity to religion: they laboured also under too many difficulties, from the then situation of affairs, to have sufficient leisure, either to write books, or to form libraries. The only books which were preserved by them in their churches, were the Old and New Testament, to which were afterwards added the Acts of the Martyrs: but when they came to have more time upon their hands, they set about the forming of libraries. Those of Saint Jerom, and George bishop of Alexandria, are mentioned by several authors with high encomiums.

There was a very famous one at Cæsarea, founded by Julius Africanus, and afterwards increased by Eusebius, bishop of that city, to the amount of seventy thousand volumes. But the honour of this increase is by some authors ascribed to Saint Pamphilus, a priest of Laodicea, and the intimate friend of Eusebius, which indeed

seems to be insinuated by this historian. In this library Saint Jerom found great assistance, for his correcting the books of the Old Testament. It was there also that he found the gospel of Saint Matthew in Hebrew. Some authors affirm, that this library was dispersed at one time, but afterwards re-established by Saint Gregory of Nazian, and Eusebius.

Saint Austin makes mention of a library at Hippona: that of Antiochia was very famous; but the emperor Jovienus, in order to please his consort, wickedly destroyed it. But to avoid entering into a detail of the libraries possessed by the first Christians, let it suffice to say, that every church had its library for the use of those who applied themselves to study; which is attested by Eusebius, who farther adds, that these libraries for the most part, with the buildings wherein they were kept, were made a prey to the flames, and barbarously destroyed by Dioclesian.

Let us now turn our thoughts to libraries of much greater importance than those we have been speaking of, viz. the libraries founded since Christianity has proved triumphant over all contradiction. That instituted by Constantine the Great, in the year 336, according to Zona, merits our attention. This prince, being desirous of making reparation for the mischief done to the Christians by the tyrant his predecessor, gave orders for the strictest research to be made after those books that had been doomed to destruction: he had them copied, and bought many more at a very considerable price, with all which he

founded a very numerous library at Constantinople. The emperor Julian wanted to destroy it, and to hinder the Christians from having any books, in order to plunge them into ignorance: yet he founded two very considerable ones, one at Constantinople, the other at Antiochia. Upon each of their frontispieces were these words engraven: *Alii quidem equos amant, alii aves, alii feras: mihi verò à puerulo mirandum acquirendi et possidendi libros insedit desiderium*: which signify, "Some love horses, others birds, others wild beasts; but from my boyish days, I was always fond of collecting and possessing books."

The young Theodosius was not less anxious about increasing the library of Constantine the Great, which at first contained six thousand nine hundred volumes; but, through his care and munificence, soon amounted to the number of one hundred thousand. Leo, the Isaurian, caused above half of them to be burnt, in order to destroy all the monuments that might be quoted in proof against his heresy concerning the worship of images. In this library was deposited the only authentic copy of the first general council of Nice. Some say it was possessed of the works of Homer, written in golden letters, which were burnt by the iconoclasts, who destroyed this library. There also, according to some authors, was deposited a copy of the gospels, bound in plates of gold, to the weight of fifteen pound, and enriched with precious stones.

The barbarous nations, that deluged Europe, destroyed libraries and books in general: their rage on that account is almost incredible, and

has caused the irreparable loss of an almost infinite number of excellent works.

The first in those savage times, that showed any taste for letters, was Cassiodorus, the favourite and minister of Theodoric, king of the Goths; who had established themselves in Italy, and were commonly known by the name of *Ostrogoths*. Cassiodorus being quite wearied with the fatigue, attending on ministerial employments, retired to a convent built by his own direction, and there consecrated the remainder of his days to prayer and study. He founded a library for the use of those monks who were the companions of his solitude. It was much about the same time, that the pope Hilarius, the first of that name, founded two libraries in the church of Saint Stephen; and that Pope Zacharias the first re-established that of Saint Peter, according to Platinus.

Some time after Charlemagne founded his library at l'Isle Barbe, near Lyons, Paradinus says, he enriched it with a great number of books: and Sabellicus, as well as Palmerius, affirm, that among many other curious manuscripts he had deposited there a genuine copy of the works of Saint Denis; a present which had been made to him by the emperor of Constantinople. He moreover founded in Germany several colleges, with libraries for the instruction of youth; and that at Saint-Gal, in Switzerland, was in high reputation.

King Pepin founded one at Fulda, by the advice of pope Boniface, the apostle of Germany: it was in this celebrated monastery that Raban, Maur, and Hildebert, resided and studied

as cotemporaries. There was another library at Vrissen, not far from Worms. But the library founded by Charlemagne, in his palace at Aix la Chapelle, surpassed them all; which, nevertheless, on his death-bed, he ordered to be disposed of, that the purchase-money might be distributed among the poor. Louis le Debonaire, his son, succeeded not only to the imperial throne, but also to his love of learning, which he promoted with all his power.

England and Ireland were at that period of time possessed of learned and valuable libraries; which were afterwards destroyed by the frequent incursions made by the Northern emigrants, as well there as all over Europe. But that which is the most to be regretted of all, was the grand library founded at York by Egbert, archbishop of that city: it was burnt, along with the convent of Saint Mary, and several other religious houses, in the reign of king Stephen. Alcuinus makes mention of this library in his letter to the Anglican church.

Much about the same time, a person called Gauthier contributed not a little, by his attention, care, and assiduity, to establish the monastery of St. Alban's library, which was very considerable, but was plundered, like the rest, by the Danish pirates.

The library founded in the twelfth century, by Richard de Burg, bishop of Durham, chancellor and treasurer of England, was ranked amongst the most celebrated: this learned prelate omitted nothing to render it as complete as such troublesome times would permit. He

composed a treatise, entitled *Philo Biblion*, on the choice of books, and the manner of forming a library; wherein he delineates books as so many preceptors, and thus nappily expresses himself: *Hi sunt magistri qui nos instruunt sine virgis et ferulis, sine cholera, sine pecunia: si accedis, non dormiunt; si inquiris, non se abscondunt; non obmurmurant, si oberres; cackinnos nesciunt, si ignores.* “They are masters that instruct us without either rod or ferula; are free from anger, and devoid of any lucrative view: when we repair to them, they never sleep, but are always awake to receive us; whenever we seek, they immediately present, and never hide themselves from us; if we err, they chide not; nor, finally, do they shock our ignorance with discouraging laughter.”

England can now boast of having some libraries very valuable for books in every article, as well as for very ancient manuscripts. The most spoken of is the celebrated Bodleian library at Oxford, raised as a superstructure, if we may be allowed the expression, upon the foundations of that which had been established by duke Humphry. It began to be rendered public in the year 1602, and hath since been prodigiously increased by the generous contribution of literary benefactors; and is said to exceed those belonging to either the sovereign princes, or universities, of Europe, if we except the king's at Paris, the emperor's at Vienna, and that of the Vatican in Rome.

It seems, that in the eleventh century, the sciences had fled for refuge to the protection of Constantine Porphyrogenetes, emperor of Con-

Constantinople; who was a declared friend to, and patron of, the Muses. His subjects, following their sovereign's example, cultivated letters. A great many learned men made their appearance in Greece at that time; and the emperor, being ever attentive to promote the interest of learning, employed several persons, deemed the most capable, to make a proper collection of books for him, with which he formed a public library, and worked himself in arranging the books. Matters continued in this situation, until such time as the Turks had rendered themselves masters of Constantinople; at which fatal event the sciences were forced to fly from Greece, and to seek for shelter in Italy, France, and Germany, where they were received with open arms: soon after their arrival in those realms, the enlightening rays of knowledge began to diffuse themselves through the other parts of Europe, that had lain for a long time benighted in the grossest ignorance.

The library at Constantinople, belonging to the Grecian emperors, was not however destroyed, at the taking of this city, by Mahomet the Second: on the contrary, this sultan had given his express command, that it should be preserved; and so in effect it was, and since kept in certain appropriated apartments of the seraglio, until the reign of Amurat the Fourth; when that Mahometan prince, unchecked by any scruple, and in a violent fit of mistaken devotion, sacrificed all the books in the library to the implacable hatred with which he was exasperated against the Christians. This is all the information which abbé Sevin could procure

concerning it, when, by order of the king his master, he repaired to Constantinople, in the year 1729, with hopes of being permitted to have a liberty of going to, and collecting there some manuscripts, in order to enrich with them the royal library in Paris.

As for the peculiar library of the seraglio, that was begun by sultan Selim, who conquered Egypt, and was a great lover of literature; it consists only of three or four thousand Turkish, Arabic, or Persian volumes, without one Grecian manuscript. Maurocordato, prince of Wallachia, had collected a great number of the latter; and many of the kind are found scattered in the monasteries of Greece. It appears, by the account of the academic travellers in the Levant, that these precious monuments of antiquity are held but in little esteem there, although the country in which the arts and sciences had flourished for so long a series of years.

It is beyond a doubt, that most of the nations known cultivate the sciences, though some more, others less; but in none is so high a value set upon knowledge as in China, where there is no chance of attaining to the least place of any consequence, without being learned, at least above the common run of people; wherefore all persons among them, who are desirous of making a figure in life, are under an indispensible necessity of applying themselves to study: and it suffices not, to have the reputation of being learned; proof must be given of their being really so, ere they can hope to obtain any dignities or honours;

because each candidate for them is obliged to undergo three rigorous examinations, that tally with our three degrees, of batchelor, licentiate, and doctor.

From the political necessity of studying, it follows, that there must be a great quantity of books and writings in China, and that consequently the rich folks there must be provided with ample libraries. We are informed by historians, that about two hundred years before Jesus Christ, Chingius or Xius, emperor of China, ordered, that all the books in the realm (whose number was almost infinite) should be burnt, excepting those that treated of medicine, agriculture, and fortune-telling; vainly imagining that he should thereby sink into oblivion the names of all the emperors who had preceded him, and that posterity should be able to mention no sovereign prior to himself.

This command however was not so strictly executed, but that a woman found the means of saving the works of Mentius, or Confucius, surnamed *The Socrates of China*, as well as of several other writers, by pasting the leaves of their respective performances to the walls of her house, where they remained in safety till the death of the tyrant.

This anecdote accounts for such works being looked upon as the oldest in China, particularly those of Confucius, for whom the Chinese people have the greatest veneration. This philosopher left nine books, that are in a manner the source, whence have flowed all other works seen since his time, and to such a prodigious number, that a person of rank and

title in the country (according to the report of Pere Trigault) on his becoming Christian, employed four days in destroying his books, in order to have nothing near him that treated of the Chinese superstitions.

Spizellus, in his book entitled *De Re Literaria Sinenfium*, "on the State of Literature among the Chinese," fays, there is a library on mount Lingumen, that confifts of above thirty thoufand volumes, all compofed by Chinese authors; and it is probable, that as great a number was kept in the temple of Venehung, near the royal fchool.

There are many fine libraries in Japan, and we are told by travellers, that in the city Narad there ftands a magnificent temple, dedicated to Zaca, the fage, the prophet, and legiflator of that country; and that the priefts, or bonzes, have their apartments near this temple, one of which is fupported by twenty-four columns, containing a library well ftowed from bottom to top.

All we have hitherto advanced, to fpeak comparatively, is nothing to the library faid to be contained in the monastery of the Holy Crofs, fituated upon mount Amara in Ethiopia. We read in hiftory, that Antony Bricus, and Lawrence of Cremona, were fent into that country by pope Gregory the Thirteenth, to take a view of this library, which is divided into three parts, and contains in all ten millions and one hundred thoufand volumes, written on a beautiful parchment, and preferved in cafes of filk.

Some affert, that this wonderful library owes

its origin to the queen of Saba, that visited Solomon, and received from him a great number of books; particularly those of Enoch, upon the elements, and other philosophical subjects; with those of Noah, upon mathematical subjects; and the sacred ritual: she also received from that monarch, the books written by Abraham in the valley of Mambraë, where he taught philosophy to those who assisted him in conquering the kings that had made his nephew Lot a prisoner: the books too of Job were not forgotten in this royal present, and many others that are affirmed to be there, along with the books of Esdras, of the Sybils, of the prophets, and of the high priests among the Jews; besides those that are pretended to have been written by this very queen, and her son Memilech, whom she is said to have had from her amorous intercourse with Solomon.

We relate these opinions, not because we have adopted them, but in order to shew that very learned men have given into them; such as, for instance, the celebrated father Kircher. Now, all that can be said of the Ethiopians is, that they pay little or no regard to profane literature, and consequently have no collection of Greek or Latin books, upon either historical or philosophical subjects: they apply themselves entirely to the study of sacred literature; which at first had been extracted from Grecian books, and since has been translated into their own language. They are schismatics, and followers of Eutyches and Nestorius.

The Arabians of our time are absolutely unacquainted with letters: but about the tenth

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century, and especially under the reign of Almanzor, no other people cultivated them with more success than they did. After the ignorance which had prevailed in Arabia, before the time of Mahomet, the califf Almamon was the first who caused the sciences to be revived among her natives; ordering to be translated into that language a great number of books, which he had forcibly obtained from Michael, the third emperor of Constantinople; compelling that unfortunate monarch, after his defeat in battle, to let him take what choice of books he would from his library, and from every part of the empire.

The king, called Manzor, proved not less assiduous in cultivating letters: this mighty prince founded several schools, and public libraries, at Morocco; and there the Arabians boast that they have the first copy of Justinian's code.

Eupennas says, that the library at Fez consists of thirty-two thousand volumes; and others go so far as to affirm, that all the decads of Livy are there; with the works of Pappus Alexander, a famous mathematician; as are also those of Hippocrates, of Galen, and of several other good authors, whose works have not come down to us, or (what we have of them) but in a very imperfect manner.

According to some travellers, there is at Gaza another fine library of ancient books; and in most of them are to be seen figures of animals, and cyphers, in the Egyptian manner; which makes many people conjecture it to be some remaining part of the library that was at Alexandria. There was a library at Damas, where

Francis Rosa, native of Ravenna, found Aristotle's mystical philosophy in the Arabic language, and which he hath since made public.

From all that has preceded, it must now appear, that the library of the Grecian emperors has not been preserved; and that too, which is called the Sultan's, is not considerable; wherefore all the accounts we find concerning them, in Baudier, and other authors, who make such marvellous reports on that head, are not to be preferred to the plain and faithful narrative given of them by those judicious persons, who had been sent to Constantinople to make a collection of such valuable fragments of antiquity, as might be found there. Besides, that contempt which the Turks in general have always openly professed for the sciences which we Europeans cultivate, sufficiently proves in what little estimation both the Greek and Latin authors are held by them; and that, if they had been possessed of any, there appears not the least shadow of reason, why they should have refused a communication of them, in compliance to a request made for such a purpose by the first and most powerful prince in Europe.

There was formerly a very fine library at Audvil in Persia, where the Magi resided, as we learn from Olearius, in his *Itinerarium*. We learn from Mr. Le Boulaye le Gous, that the inhabitants of Sabea read no more than three books; namely, the one of Adam, the second of the Divan, and the third of the Alcoran. In the writings of a Jesuit author we are told, that he had seen a superb library at Algiers.

The ignorance of the Turks cannot be greater

than is that of the Greek christians, who have forgotten the very language of their ancestors; their bishops prohibit them from reading pagan authors, as if it were criminal to become learned; so that their whole course of study is limited to the reading of the acts of the seven synods of Greece, the works of Saint Basil, Saint Chrysostom, and Saint John of Damascus. They have indeed many libraries, which contain nothing but manuscripts, the art of printing not being in use amongst them: they have one situated upon mount Athos, and several besides; all which contain great quantities of manuscripts, but very few printed books.

Such persons as may be curious to learn what kind of manuscripts are those that were brought from among the Greeks into France, Italy, and Germany, or that are now in the possession of private persons at Constantinople, as well as what may be met with in the isle of Pathmos, or the other islands of the Archipelago, or in the monastery of Saint Basil at Gassa, formerly called Theodosia, or in Crim Tartary, and finally in any part of the Turkish dominions, can receive ample information from the excellent treatise of father Possevin, entitled *Apparatus Sacer*, "The Sacred Apparatus," and from the narrative of the voyage to Constantinople, made by Abbé Sevin in the year 1729; which is inserted in the seventh volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*.

The great number of libraries, both public and private, with which Europe is now so capitably adorned, would lead us too far, were we to

enter into a minute detail of them; wherefore, not to exceed the limits which we have proposed to ourselves in this work, we shall be content with vindicating the most considerable, whether for the quantity of books which they possess, or for the tasteful choice which has been made in forming them.

In this number are to be reckoned that of the university at Copenhagen, and that founded by Henry Rantzau, a private gentleman of Denmark.

In the library founded at Stockholm, by Christina queen of Sweden, is to be seen, among other curiosities, one of the first copies of the Alcoran, which by some is even asserted to be the original, and to have been sent by one of the Turkish sultans, as a present to his cotemporary emperor of the Romans: but such a notion wears not the face of probability, and is therefore to be discarded.

Poland is not destitute of libraries, nay, can even boast of possessing two very considerable ones; the one at Vilna, the successive improvement of many Polish kings, according to Cramer and Bozius; the other is at Cracovia.

Before the reign of the czar Peter the first, except a few treatises upon religion in the Sclavonian idiom, there were no books of science, nor the least tracks of literature having been at any time introduced there. This glorious prince, notwithstanding his various military avocations, made the arts and sciences soon to flourish among his subjects; for the better effecting of which salutary intent, he founded several academies in the different parts of his ex-

tensive empire: he devoted a very considerable fund, for the establishing and improving the library of his academy at Petersburg, that is now most amply supplied with books in every department of the arts and sciences.

The royal library at Petershof is one of the finest in Europe: its cabinet of jewels, and other curiosities, is beyond all price.

The public library at Amsterdam might be rendered much more useful than it is, if the books which it contains, were arranged with more order and method; but the misfortune is, that there is no coming at the books which are wanted, without a deal of difficulty: the collection is nevertheless very valuable.

There are, in the Netherlands, several very curious libraries; viz. those of the Jesuits and Dominicans at Antwerp, that belonging to the monks of Saint Peter at Ghent, and that at Dunkirk: there is also one at Gemblours, that abounds with manuscripts, to which Erasmus, and other learned personages, have often had recourse. There are many other libraries besides these, as at Hardewick, Ypres, Liege, Louvan, Leyden, &c. At the last mentioned place, Leyden, there are two libraries; the one, that had been founded by Antonius Thifius; and the other belonging to the university, which was given to it by William the first prince of Orange: it is in very high esteem for the manuscripts in Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Persian, Armenian, and Russian, which Joseph Scaliger left to this school, where he had been a professor for so many years.

The Complutenſian bible is not one of its leaſt ornaments, which was given, by Philip the ſecond king of Spain, to the prince of Orange, who made a preſent of it to the univerſity of Leyden, whoſe library has been conſiderably increaſed by the addition of that of Holmannus, and ſtill more ſo by that of the celebrated Iſaac Voſſius; the laſt containing many valuable manuſcripts, which, it is generally thought, were procured from the cabinet of Chriſtina queen of Sweden.

Germany pays ſuch a due reſpect to, and cultivates letters with ſuch a zealous application, that it is not to be imagined ſhe ſhould prove ſcanty in the article of libraries: the moſt conſiderable within her dominions, are thoſe at Francfort upon the Oder, at Leipſic, at Dresden, at Augſburgh, at Baſil in Switzerland: in the laſt-mentioned place may be ſeen a manuſcript of the New Teſtament in golden letters, and of which Eraſmus availed himſelf much in correcting a verſion of this ſacred book. There remain ſtill at Baſil, the particular libraries of Eraſmus, Ameſbach, and De Feche.

The duke of Wolfembuttel's library is made up of ſeveral others; to wit, that of Marquardus Freherus, Joachim Cluten, and of other curious collections: it is very valuable both for its number, and the goodneſs of its books, as well as for the beautiful order in which they are ranged. It is ſaid to contain ſixteen thouſand volumes, and two thouſand manuſcripts, in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages.

That of his Pruſſian majeſty at Berlin is far more numerous than that of the duke of Wol-

fembuttel, and the books are much better bound: it was first established by Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, and has been considerably increased by having that of the celebrated Spanheim added to it. Among other curiosities with which it is enriched, may be seen several manuscripts, adorned with gold and precious stones in the time of Charlemagne.

There are, besides those we have mentioned, a great number of curious libraries; but to give a particular account of each, would take up too much time: wherefore we shall conclude this article of German libraries with some particular notice of the emperor's at Vienna, which contains an hundred thousand volumes. It has an amazing quantity of Grecian manuscripts, as well as of Hebraic, Arabic, Turkish, and Latin. Lambatius has published a catalogue of them all; and engraved the figures for the manuscripts; but they are not very interesting objects. This library was founded by the emperor Maximilian, in the year 1480, and occupies eight large apartments: near them is a ninth, for medals and curiosities, in which the most remarkable thing to be seen is a large bason made of emerald. This library made a most valuable acquisition in that of prince Eugene's (which was very numerous) being united to it. We now pass over to the Italian libraries.

Venice hath a very celebrated one, that is commonly called the library of Saint Mark; where the gospel of this saint is preserved, and written, as is said, with his own hand; and

who, after having been a long time at Aquinlea, where he preached the Christian faith, was brought to Venice: but, to speak the truth, there are but a few detached sheets of it to be seen; the writing so much effaced, as that a curious observer cannot distinguish it to be either Greek or Latin to any certainty: this library is likewise enriched with a great number of manuscripts. The libraries which were bequeathed by Cardinal Bessarion and Petrarch to the republic, are kept in this city, and joined to that founded by the senate in the money or mint hôtel.

Padua abounds with libraries, because that city hath been always celebrated for its university, and for the great number of learned men to whom she had given birth. Within her precincts are to be seen, the library of St. Justin, that of St. Antony, and that of Saint John Latran. Sextus of Sienna saith, that he had seen, in the last mentioned, a copy of the epistle of Saint Paul to the people of Laodicea, and that he had even made an extract from it. The library of Padua was founded by Pignorius, and Thomazerius has given us a catalogue of its contents, in his work called *Bibliotheca*.

There is a magnificent one at Ferrara, where may be seen a great number of ancient manuscripts, and other curious monuments of antiquity, such as statues, pictures, and medals, procured from the collection of Peter Ligorius, a celebrated architect, and one of the most learned men of his age.

Some people pretend, that in the library be-

longing to the Dominicans of Bologna, is to be seen the Pentateuch written by the hand of Esdras: Tiffares declares, in his Hebrew grammar, that he had often seen it, and that it is beautifully written on a large skin: but Hottinger proves, that this manuscript could never be the hand-writing of Esdras.

The Dominicans have a fine library at Naples, where the works of Pontanus are preserved; which his daughter, Eugenia, made a present of to this convent, in the pious view of eternising her illustrious father's name by such a procedure.

The library of Saint Ambrose, at Milan, was founded by the cardinal Frederick Boromeo, and contains above ten thousand manuscripts, collected by Antony Oggiati: some pretend that it owes a great part of its lustre to the diminishing of Pinelli's. It may be pronounced by no means inferior to any we have mentioned; because, some years ago, it was possessed of forty-six thousand volumes, and twelve thousand manuscripts, without reckoning what articles may have been added since. It is public.

That belonging to the dukes of Mantua may be classed among the most curious libraries in the world: it suffered greatly during the wars of Italy, that broke out in the year 1701; and was without doubt removed to Vienna. It possessed that famous plate of brass, covered with Egyptian cyphers and hieroglyphics, which the learned Pignorius hath explained.

The library at Florence is enriched with the most brilliant, most curious, and instructive contents. It contains a prodigious number of

books and manuscripts, the most rare, in every sort of language: some are indeed above all price, as no adequate value can be set upon them. It abounds also with medals, statues, busts, and other monuments of antiquity, without end. The *Musæum Florentinum* only can give a just idea of this magnificent cabinet. The description of the library alone would require a separate volume. Let us not, however, forget the manuscript preserved in the chapel of the court, which is the gospel of Saint John, and said to be in his own hand-writing.

There are two other libraries in Florence: one of which was established in the church of saint Lawrence, by pope Clement the seventh, of the Medicis family: its chief ornaments are a great number of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin manuscripts. The other was founded by Saint Cosmus de Medicis, in the church of Saint Mark, which belongs to the Jacobines.

There is a very fine library at Pisa, that has been increased by an addition of eight thousand volumes, which Aldus Manutius left by will to the academy of that city.

The king of Sardinia's library is very curious, on account of the manuscripts of Peter Ligorius, who made drawings of all the antiquities of Italy.

Pope Nicolas the fifth founded a library at Rome, containing six thousand of the scarcest volumes. Some assert its having been instituted by Sixtus Quintus, because that pope added considerably to the collection which had been already begun by pope Nicolas the fifth. It is true that the books of this library were

dispersed under the papacy of Calixtus the third, who succeeded to Nicolas; but it was afterwards reinstated by Sixtus the fourth, Clement the seventh, and Leo the tenth: it has indeed since been almost entirely destroyed by the army of Charles the fifth, under the command of the grand connetable de Bourbon, and Philbert prince of Orange, who plundered Rome before the time of Sixtus Quintus being elevated to the papal chair.

This pope, who was a patron of learned men, and a zealous promoter of literature, not only restored this library to its former splendor, but enriched it also with adding to its contents a great number of books and excellent manuscripts. It was not originally founded, as some think, at the Vatican, but was moved thither from its elder situation by Sixtus the fourth, and afterwards was conveyed to Avignon, at the same time that the papal residence was transferred thither by Clement the fifth; from which place it was brought back to the Vatican, in the popedom of Martin the fifth, where it has continued to this day.

It is generally thought that the Vatican is indebted, for the greatest part of its beautiful library, to that of the elector of Palatine, when Count de Tilly, in the year 1622, had made himself master of that and of Heidelberg. This notion however is opposed by some, and not without an appearance of reason, who affirm, that Paul the fifth, pope at that time, possessed but a very small, and the worst part of the Palatine library; all the valuable books having

been carried off by others, and principally by the duke of Bavaria.

Baronius compares the library of the Vatican to a net which receives all sorts of fish, the good as well as the bad. It is divided into three parts: the first is public, and every body may repair thither during two hours on certain days of each week; the second is more secret: and the third is never opened but to particular persons; so that it may be called *The Sanctuary of the Vatican*.

Sixtus Quintus enriched it with a great number of works both manuscript and printed, and had it moreover adorned with paintings in fresco, by the greatest artists of his time. Among the many emblematic figures there, whose detail would be too prolix here, are to be seen all the celebrated libraries of the world, represented by painted books, having underneath them an inscription, that indicates the progressive order of the several periods in which they had been established.

This library contains a great number of rare and ancient works; among others, two copies of Virgil, above a thousand years old: they are written upon parchment, as is a copy of Terence, transcribed in the time, and by the command, of Alexander Severus. The Acts of Apostles in golden letters are to be seen there, which at first had an ornamental covering enriched with precious stones, and was a present made to pope Alexander the sixth, by a queen of Cyprus: but the soldiers of Charles the fifth robbed it of the precious outside, when they plundered Rome. This library hath also a very ancient Grecian bible, with the

epigrams of Petrarch in his own writing, and the works of Saint Thomas of Aquina, translated into Greek by Demetrius Cydonius of Thessalonica; with a copy of the volume which the Persians have made of the fables of Locman, and whom Mr. Huet hath proved to be Æsop. There too may be seen the first copies of the works of Tacitus, that were not discovered till the papacy of Leo the tenth. Besides the great number of excellent books with which the Vatican library is adorned, it contains ten thousand manuscripts, of which Angelus de Rhocca has published a catalogue.

Some writers report, that Clement the eighth greatly augmented this collection, as well with printed books as with manuscripts, in which augmentation he was much assisted by Fulvius Ursinus; that Paul the fifth also enriched it with the manuscripts of cardinal Altieri, with a part of the Palatine library; and that Urban the eighth had ordered to be brought from the college of the Greeks at Rome a great quantity of Grecian books to the Vatican, of which he appointed Leo Allatius to be the librarian.

There were several other libraries at Rome, particularly that of cardinal Francis Barberini, said to contain twenty five thousand books, and five thousand manuscripts. There is also a library belonging to the palace of Farnese, besides that of Saint Mary-in ara-Cœli, that of Saint Mary *Sovra le Minerva*, that of the Augustinian friars, that of the Oratorians, that of the Jesuits, that of the late cardinal Montalto, and of cardinal Sforza; with those of the following churches, La Sapienza, La Chiesa Nova,

Saint Isidorus, and that of the Roman college; besides those of prince Borghese, of prince Pamphili, of the grand constable Colonna, and of several other princes, cardinals, noblemen, and religious communities: some of them are public.

The first and most considerable library in Spain is that of the Escorial, kept in the convent of Saint Laurence: it was founded by Charles the fifth, and greatly augmented by Philip the second. The ornamental parts of this library are very beautiful; the doors of most exquisite workmanship, and the pavement of marble; the shelves, on which the books are ranged, are of Indian wood, and painted with an infinite variety of striking colours. The books are gilt in a most superb manner. There are five ranges of presses, one on the top of the other, in which the books are kept; and each range is an hundred feet in length. Here too may be seen the portraits of Charles the fifth, of Philip the second, of Philip the third, and of Philip the fourth; and several globes, one of which represents, with great precision, the course of the stars, relatively to the different positions of the earth.

There is an amazing quantity of manuscripts contained in this library; and among the most curious is the original copy of St. Austin's Treatise upon Baptism. Some people are inclined to think, that the original copies of all this father's works are to be found there; and the reason they give for their opinion is, that Philip the second purchased them from the man to whose lot they had fallen, at the ransacking of

the library which belonged to Muley Cydan, king of Fez and Morocco, when the Spaniards took the fortress of Carachez, where this library was kept. Peter Daviti gives us this account in his genealogy of the kings of Morocco; wherein he relates, that this library contained above four thousand volumes, in the Arabic tongue, upon different subjects; and that they had been carried to Paris, in order to find purchasers there; but the Parisians expressing no desire to make such an acquisition, in a language almost unknown, they were brought back to Madrid, and there bought by Philip the second, for the library of the Escorial, that contains near three thousand Arabian manuscripts; of which Hottinger hath given us a catalogue: it has also a great number of Grecian, as well as Latin manuscripts; and, in a word, is one of the finest libraries in the world.

Some writers insinuate that it had been greatly augmented by the books of cardinal Sirlet, archbishop of Saragossa, and by those of a Spanish ambassador, which render it still more complete; but the greatest part of it was destroyed by thunder in the year 1670.

There had been formerly, in the city of Cordovia, a very magnificent library founded by the Moors; as well as a celebrated academy, that taught all the sciences in the Arabian language: but the library was plundered by the Spaniards, when Ferdinand drove the Moors out of Spain, after having reigned there during six hundred years.

Ferdinand Columbus, son of Christopher Columbus, who first discovered America,

founded a very fine library, in wick laudable scheme he was greatly assisted by the celebrated Clenard.

Ferdinand Nonius, said to be the first person who taught the Greek language in Spain, formed a large and curious library, in which was a multitude of Greek manuscripts, purchased by him at high prices in Italy; from which kingdom he directed his course to Spain, where he taught the Greek and Latin; first at Alcala de Henarez, and afterwards at Salamanca, to whose university he bequeathed his library.

Spain can also boast her possessing the magnificent library of Card. Ximenes at Alcala, where he founded an university that is become very famous. We are obliged to this cardinal for that version of the Bible, which is called the *Complutensian*.

Several private persons in Spain have had very elegant libraries; such as those of Arias Montanus, of Antonius Augustinus, a learned bishop of Tarragon, of Michael Tomafius, and of many more.

The great number of learned men, and of persons skilled in every department of literature, that have made France be looked upon as one of the most enlightened nations, leave no room to doubt of her being one of the richest in the article of libraries, and not so much for her promiscuously heaping books together, as her collecting them with judgment and taste. Writers of the highest reputation have given honourable attention to this truth, concerning the libraries of the ancient Gauls; and those who may incline to doubt, in order to cure

that uncertainty, may find undeniable proofs in the literary history of France by the reverend fathers of the Benedictin society, which is a work replete with the most profound erudition.

We might here make a long enumeration of those ancient libraries; but we chuse to name but a few, to avoid entering into a detail very little interesting to the greatest number of readers now a days.

The richest and most considerable of those ancient libraries was that of Tonance Feneol, in his elegant mansion-house, situated on the banks of the river Gardon, between Nîmes and Clermont, in Averene. The choice and arrangement of this neat library were striking proofs of the master's taste, and of his love for the beauty to be found in order. It was divided by him into three classes, and not without art: the first consisted of books of piety, for the use of the devout sex, and were placed near to the seats appropriated for the ladies; the second contained books of literature, and were intended for the study of the male sex; and the third was composed of books for the common reading of both sexes. We should be in the wrong were we to imagine, that this library had been formed for a vain parade only; all persons in the house repaired to it daily: one part of the morning was devoted to reading; and during dinner they entertained each other with what they had read; by which means, they united in their discourse the fruits of learning with the gaiety of conversation.

Every monastery, at the time of its being

established, had also a library founded; and a monk appointed to take care of it, as a librarian, pursuant to the rule of Tarnat, and Saint Benedict. These monkish libraries became, through process of time, the most celebrated objects of human curiosity; because in them were preserved the productions of many ages; and of which the owners were careful to have renewed copies, when the old ones threatened to decay. Without these resources we should now have but very few works of the ancient writers; for it was from those repositories that have been procured all the valuable manuscripts to be now seen in Europe; and from whose inestimable treasure, since the discovery of printing in Europe, so many excellent works, in all kinds of literature, have been made public.

It was in the sixth century that they began in convents to substitute, to the laborious toils of agriculture, the employment of copying ancient books, and of composing new ones. This was the chief occupation, and indeed the only one, followed by the monks of Marmoutier. A monastery, in those times, that had not a library, was looked upon in the same light as a fort deprived of every thing necessary for its defence: which is implied by this Latin expression, *Claustrum sine Armario, quasi Castrum sine Armamentario*. There still remain several precious monuments of so judicious and profitable an occupation, in the abbeys of Citeaux and Clairvaux; as well as in most of the abbeys of the Benedictin order.

The most celebrated libraries, in later times, were those of Monsieur de Thou, of Monsieur

le Tellier, archbishop of Rheims, and of Mr. Bultean, rich in books relating to the history of France: that of Mr. Coislin abounded with Greek manuscripts. We pass over that of Mr. Baluze, till we come to speak of the kings, and shall but merely name the many others; viz. that of Mr. du Fay, of Cardinal du Bois, of Mr. Colbert, of Count de Hoym, of Marshal d' Etres, of Messieurs Bigot, of Mr. Danty d' Isoard, of Mr. Turgot de Saint Clair, of Mr. Burette, and of Abbé de Rothelin.

We wave entering into any disquisition about the particular merits of those different libraries; because there are catalogues of them to be consulted, and which have been made by very learned men. We have several other libraries besides those mentioned, and by no means inferior to them in merit; some of them are private, and others public.

The first of the public libraries is the king's, of which we shall give the history anon: then follow in order those of Saint Victorius, of the college of Mazarine, of the Christian doctrine, of the Advocates, and of Saint Germain des Pres; which last is one of the most considerable, for the number and merit of ancient manuscripts which are therein contained: it was augmented in the year 1718, by the books of Mr. d' Etres; and in the year 1720, by those of Abbé Renaudot. Cardinal de Gesires, in the year 1744, left his library by will to this abbey, on condition that the public should have free access to enjoy it once a week. The bishop of Mentz, duke de Coisin, bequeathed to it a number of manuscripts, that had belonged to Chancellor Seguier.

The private libraries, that enjoy any degree of fame, whether for the number, or the quality of the books, are, 1st, that of Saint Genevieve, to which hath been added the cabinet of medals, that belonged to the regent of France, but were since made a present of by the late duke of Orleans, his son; 2d, that of Sorbonne; 3d, that of the college of Navarre; 4th, those of the Jesuits in Ruë St. Jaques, and Ruë St. Antoine; (which are no more since the destruction of that society;) 5th, those of the Oratorians; 6th, that of the Jacobins; 7th, that of Mr. Falconet, which is extremely valuable, both for the number and the choice of the books which it contains; yet much more so by the excellent use its proprietor makes of them, which would entitle it to be classed among the public libraries, since all literary persons have welcome access to repair thither, and make any researches they want; where they often find, in conversing with the owner, those lights which they had to no purpose sought for in his books.

The library of Mr. de Boze is perhaps the most valuable collection that has ever been of scarce and precious books, in different languages: it receives an additional lustre from the beauty and goodness of their editions, as well as from the neatness and elegance of their binding: should a delicate attention of this kind be called a luxury of the mind, it is one, however, that does as much honour to the taste of the proprietor, as it affords a pleasing sight to the spectator.

After having made mention of the principal

libraries known throughout the world, we shall finish this article by giving a special account of the king's; the most rich, and the most magnificent that hath ever existed. Its origin, indeed, is very obscure, having been formed at first but by an inconsiderable number of volumes: we cannot therefore easily ascertain to which of our kings its foundation is to be ascribed; this library having arrived, through a long series of years, at its present degree of magnificence, and, as it were, immensity; which will transmit to latest posterity the love our sovereign has for literature, and the unabating zeal with which his ministers promote its interest.

Although we should be induced to think, that before even the fourteenth century, the books of our kings were of a number sufficient to deserve the name of library; yet is it an undeniable truth, that those libraries subsisted no longer than during the lives of the respective princes, who disposed of them as they pleased; and from a general dispersion of them at each monarch's decease, there passed but very few to his successors, except those consecrated to the service of the royal chapel.

Saint Lewis, who had collected a considerable number of books, left none to his children: he divided them into four equal parts (excepting those of the chapel) and bequeathed them to the Jacobin and Cordelier convents at Paris, to the abbey de Royaumont, and to the Jacobins of Compeigne. Philip le Bel, and his three sons, did the same.

It is then in the subsequent reigns that we are to seek for the establishment of a royal library,

fixed, permanent, and appropriated to the use of the public; in a word, a fund unalienable, and one of the most valuable articles belonging to a crown. Charles the Vth, whose literary treasure consisted in a small number of books, which he had inherited from his predecessor king John, is the monarch to whom we are said to be indebted for having laid the first foundation of the royal library, which we at this day enjoy. He was learned, considering his time; and the passion he had for reading made him employ every effectual method towards acquiring books; by which means his library became considerably augmented in a short time. This prince, ever paternally attentive, that the knowledge of letters should be made progressive among his subjects, did not remain thoroughly satisfied with having collected books for his own instruction; but being desirous that his people should equally profit of them, he placed his library in one of the towers of the Louvre, which was thence called the Library tower, whither people might have recourse to study at all hours. He ordered thirty small chandeliers, and a silver lamp, to be hung from the roof. This library consisted of about nine hundred and ten volumes; a remarkable number in those days, when letters were but little cultivated in France; and where, consequently, books could not have been very abundant, but rather scarce.

He was wont at times to take some books from the library of the Louvre, and have them carried to the different royal seats for his reading. Charles the VIth, his son and successor, used to take many books from the library, that

were never returned back to it : but these occasional losses were repaired by new acquisitions, made from time to time. This library continued pretty nearly in the same state, until the reign of Charles the VIIth, when by a series of misfortunes, with which the kingdom was har-
rassed, this library too was entirely dispersed : no tracks of it, not the least, could be found for a long time.

Lewis the XIth, whose reign was tranquil, honoured the interest of letters with a peculiar attention. He issued his orders that no pains should be spared in collecting the wrecks of the library of the Louvre. He modeled a library for himself ; which he afterwards augmented with the addition of his brother's, called Charles of France's books ; and, in all likelihood, with those of the dukes of Burgundy, whose dukedom he united to the crown.

Charles the VIIIth, without being learned, had a great taste for books : he added many to those which his father had collected, and, in particular, a considerable part of the library of Naples, which, after his conquest of that city, he caused to be brought into France. We can distinguish even now, among the books of our king's library, those of the kings of Naples, from others that had belonged to Neapolitan noblemen, by the means of their arms, motto, signature, or other marks which they bear.

While Lewis the XIth, and Charles the VIIIth, were busy in collecting as many books as they could, the two princely brothers of the house of Orleans, namely, Charles, and John the count of Angoulême, returned from Eng-

land, after twenty-five years imprisonment there, laid the first foundations, the former at Blois, and the latter at Angoulême, of two libraries, which have since become royal, and that soon effaced all remembrance of the loss sustained by the dispersion of the Louvre-library; most of whose contents were supposed to have been carried off by the duke of Bedford. Charles purchased about sixty volumes that had belonged to it, while he was in England, which he caused to be brought back to the castle of Blois, and re-united to those that had been already collected there, to a considerable number.

Lewis the XIIth, son of Charles duke of Orleans, upon his accession to the throne, re-appendaged to it the library of Blois, in the midst of which he had been in a manner bred up; and it was, perhaps, for that reason, that he would not have it change its situation; but, moreover, caused to be added thereto the books of his two predecessors, Lewis the XIth, and Charles the VIIIth: and during the whole course of his reign he was very industrious about increasing this treasure; which became of still much greater consequence, when he had incorporated therewith the library that the Viscontis and Sforzas, dukes of Milan, had founded at Pavia, and added the books which had belonged to the celebrated Petrarch. The greatest encomiums are lavished, by the writers of those times, on the library of Blois, which was then the admiration not only of France, but of Italy.

Francis the Ist, having increased the library of Blois, united it, in the year 1544, to that

begun by himself in the castle of Fontainebleau, several years before. So considerable an augmentation as this could not fail giving a great lustre to the library of Fontainebleau, which in itself was very valuable; because Francis the 1st had commissioned Hieronymus Fondule, a man of great literary reputation in that time, to purchase a number of manuscripts in Italy: his ambassadors at Rome and Venice were charged with a like commission; of which they acquitted themselves in a very zealous manner: yet the result of all these different acquisitions did not exceed the number of four hundred volumes, and forty oriental manuscripts.

Hence may obviously be formed a judgment of the scarcity of books in those days, since a prince, so desirous of acquiring, and so eager to pay any price for them, who moreover had employed the most skilful persons for such a purpose, could have collected for him but so small a number, in comparison with the prodigious multitude that have made their appearance since his time.

The passion which Francis the 1st had for Greek books made him neglect the Latin, and all books composed in the foreign modern vulgar languages. All the French books, which he admitted into his library, may be divided into five different classes; 1st, those that were written before his reign; 2d, those that were dedicated to him; 3d, those made for his own use, or that were given to him by their authors; 4th, the books of Louisa, princess of Savoy, his mother; and 5th, those of Margaret of Valois,

his sister; all which amount to no more than about seventy volumes.

Before his reign the books were entrusted with no higher a character than that of a simple library-keeper, and an ordinary member of society. He was the first that instituted the respectable post of chief librarian; who was long after called, and is still so in his letters of appointment, *Master of the King's Library*.

William Budé was the first promoted to this employment; which choice did equal honour to the prince, and the man of letters. Peter du Castel, or Chatellain, succeeded to him: he was a thorough master of the Greek and Latin tongues: he died in the year 1552, and his place was filled up, under king Henry the II^d, by Peter de Montdoré, a counsellor to the grand council, a very learned man, especially in mathematics.

The library of Fontainbleau appears to have received but very little additional improvements, under the reigns of the three sons of Henry the II^d; occasioned, no doubt, by the troubles and divisions raging at that time throughout the kingdom, on the pretext of religion. The learned Montdoré being suspected and accused of favouring innovations in religion, made his escape from Paris, in the year 1567, and retired to Sancerre in Berri, where he languished in grief, and died of a broken heart, three years after his elopement from the capital.

James Amyot, who had been preceptor to Charles the IXth, and the princes his brothers, was, upon the flight of Montdoré, appointed in his place, master of the library; but the time

of his holding that charge was very unfavourable to the advancement of arts and sciences; and it is believed, that excepting a few books, which had been given to Henry the III^d, the library received no other addition, but of those copies that are deposited there on account of the king's privilege for such works being exhibited to sale. So disagreeably circumstanced, all that Amyot could do, was to give free access to the learned, and furnish an easy communication of the manuscripts for their use. He died in 1593. and his charge was conferred on the president James de Thou, so justly celebrated for the history of his own times, written by himself.

King Henry the IVth could not possibly make a better choice, for the honour of letters: but the troubles at the beginning of his reign, did not allow him leisure sufficient to restore to them that lustre which they had lost by the civil commotions with which France had been so long agitated. The sons of sedition having committed some depredations on his library; in order to prevent any future robbery of this kind, the king, in the year 1595, ordered the books of the library at Fontainebleau to be conveyed to the college of Clermont in Paris; from which situation another advantage would accrue, (that of being within the reach of the general run of the learned) not enjoyed when they were kept at Fontainebleau.

These books were no sooner brought to Paris than they received a most valuable addition, in the beautiful manuscript of Charles le Chauve's great Bible; which is one of the most precious

literary monuments of the zeal of our kings, of the second race, for the Christian religion; and which, from the time of this emperor's reign, had been preserved in the abbey of Saint Denis.

A few years before this removal, the president de Thou had prevailed on his master to bid for the library of Catharine de Medicis, consisting of eight hundred Greek and Latin manuscripts; but several intervening circumstances prevented this acquisition's being effected, till in the year 1599. Four years after this acquisition of the manuscripts that had belonged to queen Catharine de Medicis, the library was removed from the college of Clermont to the convent of Cordeliers, where it was deposited for some years. The president de Thou died in the year 1617; and Francis de Thou, his eldest son, who was then but nine years old, inherited the charge of master of the library. During the minority of this young librarian, the care and direction of the royal books was conferred by the king on Nicholas Rigaut, the author of several works then in high esteem.

The royal library received no great increase under the reign of Lewis the XIIIth; and the only considerable acquisition then made, was in purchasing the manuscripts of Philip Hurault, bishop of Chartres, that amounted to the number of four hundred and eighteen volumes; besides another of one hundred and ten beautiful manuscripts, in the Syrian, Arabian, and Persian languages; with the matrices in which letters are cast, bought from the heirs of Mr. de Breves, who had been ambassador at Constantinople. It was in the reign of this mo-

narch, that the royal library was removed from the convent of Cordeliers to be deposited in a large house in Ruë de l'Harpe, that belonged to the friars of this order.

Francis de Thou having been beheaded in 1642, the celebrated Hieronymus Bignon, whose very name is his panegyric, succeeded to the charge of master of the library, and obtained, in the year 1651, the survivorship of that place for his eldest son, called Hieronymus after him. Mr. de Colbert, who was at that time meditating great projects, procured the charge of master of the library to be given to his son, which was become vacant by the death of Mr. Dupuy, who left by will his library to the king, and which Lewis the XIVth accepted of, by letters patent registered in parliament, on the 16th day of April, in the year 1675.

Hippolitus, count de Bethune, much about the same time made a present to the king of a very curious collection of modern manuscripts, to the number of one thousand nine hundred and twenty three volumes, of which above nine hundred and fifty are filled with letters, and original pieces, relating to the history of France.

To his patronising zeal, in behalf of the sciences, in order to enhance his master's glory, Mr. Colbert united an extraordinary fondness for books; and then began to lay the foundation of that well-known and famous library, which, till these latter times, had been considered as a rival to that of the king; but the attention which he employed for advancing the interest of the former, never made him neglect that of the latter. The royal library is indebted

to this minister for its most important acquisitions. We avoid entering into a detail of them; but refer those desirous of being informed more minutely, to the historical memorial of the king's library, prefixed to the catalogue, page 26, with the following. One of the most valuable articles are the manuscripts of De Brienne, that form a collection of tracts concerning state affairs, and which Antony de Lomenie, secretary of state, had compiled with great care, and digested into three hundred and forty volumes.

Mr. Colbert, finding that the king's library was become too numerous to be commodiously contained in the house of Ruë de l'Harpe, had it removed, in the year 1666, into two houses of La Ruë Vivienne, which belonged to him. In the year following, the cabinet of medals, in which was the grand collection of prints made by abbé de Marolles, and other curiosities, were taken from the Louvre, to be added to the king's library; of which they are to this day one of the most brilliant ornaments. After the disgrace of Mr. Fouquet, his library, as well as his other effects, were seized on, and sold. Somewhat above thirteen hundred volumes were purchased for the king, besides the valuable collection concerning the history of Italy.

It was impossible, but that so many printed books as daily appeared, when joined to the ancient, with the two copies for every licensed book, must prodigiously increase and become unwieldy, through an excess of duplicates; wherefore a method was hit on of making exchanges; and it was by such means, that, in the year 1688, an acquisition was made of all the manuscripts, as well as of a great number

of printed books, that were in the library of cardinal Mazarin. Of those manuscripts, whose number amounted to two thousand one hundred and fifty six, there were one hundred and two in the Hebrew language; three hundred and forty three in the Arabic, Samaritan, Persian, and other Oriental languages; the remainder were in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, &c. The printed books amounted to the number of three thousand six hundred and seventy eight.

Soon after, the king's library was enriched by the acquisition that had been made at Leyden, in purchasing the books of the learned James Golius; and above twelve hundred manuscript, or printed volumes, from the library of Mr. Gilbert Gauvin, dean of the masters of requests, who had applied himself in a particular manner to the searching after, and studying of, Oriental books.

It was not only in Paris, but throughout the neighbouring kingdoms, that he had books bought up for the king's library; he had employed persons in the Levant to procure the best ancient manuscripts in the Greek, Arabic, Persian, and other Oriental languages. He had a settled correspondence in the different courts of Europe, by whose agency this indefatigable minister procured treasures of every kind for the royal library.

In the year 1670, a new establishment was made in the king's library, sufficient of itself to illustrate the name of Lewis the XIVth to posterity; viz. those beautiful prints which his majesty had caused to be engraved, and of

which, even now, presents are made by our court, to princes, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction; and are looked upon as a very high compliment.

In the year 1683, the library lost Mr. Colbert; wherefore Mr. de Louvois, as superintendant of the royal buildings, acted in the late Colbert's department, and purchased from Mr. Bignon, counsellor of state, the charge of master of the library, to which thenceforwards was united that of keeper of the library. The grant of these two posts was made out in 1684, in favour of Camillus le Tellier, called Abbé Louvois.

Mr. de Louvois, in order to make new acquisitions for the king's library, pursued the same method Mr. Colbert had done, by employing the agency of our ministers at foreign courts; and in consequence of such care, the years 1685, 1686, and 1687, were productive of articles, whose purchase-money arose to a very considerable sum.

The celebrated father Mabillon, then traveling in Italy, was commissioned by the king to collect all the books he could: he acquitted himself with so much zeal and exactness, that in less than two years he procured four thousand printed volumes.

The death of Mr. de Louvois, which happened in the year 1691, caused a change in the administration of the royal library. The charge of master of the library, until that event, was held under the authority and direction of the superintendant of the public buildings: but the king made a regulation in

July, 1691; in virtue whereof Abbé de Louvois was to hold, enjoy, and to fulfill, the united functions of master of the library, overseer, and steward of the cabinet of books, manuscripts, medals, &c. and of keeper of the royal library, under the king's authority alone.

Father Bouvet, a missionary Jesuit, brought home, in the year 1687, forty-nine Chinese volumes, sent by the emperor of China, as a present to his most Christian majesty. From this small collection was derived the first elementary knowledge, among us, of what nature the Chinese literature might be; but which hath been since much cultivated in France. We should never have done, were we to enter into a minute detail of all the various acquisitions purchased for, and numberless presents made to, the royal library.

At the accession of Lewis the fifteenth to the crown of France, the royal library consisted of about seventy thousand volumes, without reckoning the fund of plates engraved, and prints, &c. a very great increase! and which might be an object of astonishment, but for the considerable augmentation that hath since been made.

The king's munificent disposition to encourage letters and sciences, in lineal emulation with his illustrious predecessors on the throne, and the concurring zeal of his ministers to act conformably with the royal intentions of their master, as well as the unwearied attention of the librarian in chief, and those subordinate to him, to let no opportunity within their reach, of making new acquisitions, escape,

have co-operated, and effectually, in the present reign, to procure and accumulate such literary treasures, as to far exceed all that were to be seen at the decease of our preceding monarch.

Among the books belonging to the cabinet of Gaston D'Orleans, which he had bequeathed to the king in the year 1660, there were some volumes of plants and animals, which this prince had ordered to be painted in miniature, upon detached sheets of vellum, by Nicolas Robert, whose excellent pencil in this kind of work remains yet unrivalled. It was carried on, under the direction of Mr. Colbert, till the year 1728; at which period a stop was put to any farther increase of this curious and magnificent collection: but this interrupted scheme hath for some years past been revived with great success, and forms now a series of more than two thousand five hundred sheets, representing flowers, birds, animals, and butterflies.

In the year 1728, the royal library lost Abbé de Louvois, to whose place Abbé Bignon succeeded. It was with pleasure that the arts and sciences saw promoted, to such a brilliant place, a gentleman whom they looked upon as their protector, by his own natural inclination, and under whose auspicious guidance they promised to themselves the greatest advantages. No sooner was he appointed, than he immediately disposed of his own library, that he might have no other objects of that kind in view, but the king's, to which he gave a very large and curious collection of Chinese, Tartarian and Indian books. From his very commencement in this office, he distinguished his zeal for enhancing

the royal library's glory, by making an acquisition of those most valuable manuscripts that were in the possession of Mr. De le Marre, and of Mr. Baluze: their number amounted to above one thousand.

The prodigious number of books, that the king's library was become in a manner overcrowded with, rendered the order at first intended for arranging them impracticable, in the two then too narrow houses of Ruë Vivienne; which growing inconvenience had been often mentioned to the regent of France, by the late Abbé de Louvois; who, in consequence of such remonstrances, from the very beginning of his holding the reins of government, was resolved that the library should be removed into the grand gallery of the Louvre: but the arrival of the infantia from Spain, defeated that intent; because the Louvre was appointed to be her place of residence.

In the year 1721, Abbé Bignon seized on the occasion of the *systems* * failing, to apply to the regent for a grant of the Hôtel de Nevers in Ruë de Richelieu, where the bank had been kept, for the royal library's being deposited in, as a much more commodious place than where it then was lodged. The prince cheerfully assented, and upon his orders given, as many books as possibly could be, were conveyed thither without delay; but the various obstacles that intervened, prevented the obtaining of his ma-

* A political scheme of the regent's, to become possessed of all the money in the nation.

majesty's letters patent for annexing to perpetuity, the Hôtel de Nevers to the library's use, until the year 1724.

No expence was spared to decorate, with the utmost magnificence, the grand apartments in which the books are ranged: it is the most noble and brilliant spectacle of the kind, that can be seen in Europe. Abbé Salier, professor royal of the Hebrew language, member of the academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, moreover, one of the forty constituents of the French academy, was, in the year 1726, appointed keeper of the books and manuscripts; who, as well as Mr. Melot, a member of the academy of Belles Lettres, among all those attached to the royal library, are the two persons who have rendered it the most eminent services.

The magnificence of the building is for the greatest part due to their sollicitation: the elegant order, which is so deservedly admired in the arrangement of the books, and in the excellent catalogue which has been made thereof, is likewise due to their abilities: and to their zeal the public is indebted for the astonishing increase that has been made in the royal library these last five and twenty years. For the easy access that the studious have to this immensity (if we may be allowed the expression) of literary treasure, we owe every acknowledgement to the passion of these two gentlemen, for promoting the interest of letters, and that particular esteem which they have for all persons who cultivate the arts and sciences. It is from the historical account which they have prefixed to

the catalogue of the royal library, that we have extracted every thing essential, that is therewith connected, in this article. We refer all those, who may be desirous of entering into a more minute knowledge of this wonderful library's rise, progress, and increase, to a perusal of it.

During the year 1728, a great number of printed books were added to the king's collection, viz. those sent from Lisburn as a present by the counts of Ericeira; with others that had cost considerable sums at the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfurt. But the most important acquisition of that year, was made by Abbé Sallier, in purchasing Mr. Colbert's library, which consisted of more than a thousand volumes: and could a design of the then ministers have taken place, it would have by far exceeded every other acquisition of the above-mentioned year.

The establishing of the Turkish printing-house at Constantinople, had suggested to Abbé Bignon, in the year 1727, the notion of applying for a copy of all the books that should come out of that press to Zaid Aga, who had been appointed the director of it; and likewise for a catalogue of the Grecian manuscripts, and others that might be found in the Grand Signor's library. Abbé Bignon had been personally acquainted with Zaid Aga while he was in Paris, one of the train of Mahomet Effendi his father, and ambassador from the Porte to his most Christian majesty.

Zaid Aga obligingly promised him copies of all the books that should be printed, but prayed

that he might be excused from the article of sending the catalogue required, with assurance that he knew nobody in Constantinople capable of making one. Abbé Bignon communicated this answer to Count Maurepas, who was too zealously interested in behalf of the royal library, not to profit of such an occasion to add a new lustre to it. It was therefore resolved, that, as the difficulty of getting the catalogue requested must arise from the incapacity of the natives of Constantinople to make one, that obstacle should be removed, by sending thither persons of intelligence, and duly qualified, in order to carefully inspect, and minutely scrutinise, the library there.

We are not to imagine that Bignon, Maurepas, &c. at the French court, believed that the much-boasted library of the Grecian emperors then existed; no, but they were curious to attain as much information and certainty, as practicable, concerning the fact: moreover, this voyage had another object in view, attended with far less uncertainty; and that was, to collect all the remains discoverable of oriental monuments of antiquity, whether in manuscripts, medals, inscriptions, &c.

Abbé Sevin, and Abbé Fourmont, both members of the academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, were charged with this laudable commission: they arrived at Constantinople, in the month of December, 1728; but they could not obtain admission into the Grand Signor's library. They learned only from persons whom they could believe, that it contained no books besides Turkish and Arabian, but

had not one Greek or Latin manuscript: in consequence of which information, they confined themselves to the other object of their voyage.

Abbé Fourmont ran over all Greece, in order to discover all the inscriptions and medals fortune should throw in his way. Abbé Sevin fixed his residence in Constantinople; where, assisted by all the power and influence of the Marquis de Villeneuve, the French ambassador, he set to work the consuls there, and all those in the sea-port towns of the Levant, whom he thought capable of making important discoveries in their several districts; through the means of which assistance, and his own particular application, he succeeded so far, as in less than two years to become possessed of six hundred manuscripts in the eastern languages; but he gave over all hopes of recovering any of the ancient Greeks works, whose loss is so much and so justly deplored by the learned world.

Abbé Sevin returned to France, after having established all necessary correspondence for effectually continuing the work which he had begun; and almost every year since his return, the royal library has received several parcels of Greek and oriental manuscripts. We are obliged to the Count de Maurepas for that noble establishment of children bred up at Constantinople at our king's expence, in order to learn the language of the place, that they may in time be capable of copying and translating Turkish, Arabic, and Persian books; the hope of which employment keeps up a perpetual

emulation among them. Such copies and translations are addressed to the minister in France, who, after having received a faithful report of their contents, sends them to the king's library: these translations, joined to the original text, form already a considerable collection, from which the republic of letters may derive hereafter very great advantages.

Abbé Bignon, not satisfied with the various treasures the royal library was then enriched with, planned and prosecuted the most prudent measures for procuring, from the Indian nations, all books that might afford a more ample knowledge than we at that time had of those distant parts of the world, where, notwithstanding their remoteness, the sciences are not unknown, or entirely neglected. The directors of the India company concurred with the greatest alacrity in such a design; and by their mediation, since the year 1729, there have been brought into France a number sufficient to form a considerable collection, and perhaps the only one of the kind now in Europe.

In the years ensuing, the king's library was considerably increased by an acquisition of the most valuable manuscripts relating to the French monarchy, entitled, *The Registers of Philip Augustus*, which had been bequeathed to the king by Mr. Rouillé de Condray, counsellor of state, as well as by the addition of several others, such as the manuscripts of Saint Martial de Limoges, of those of the first president de Mesmes, of marshal Beringhen's cabinet of prints, of the famous collection both of ancient and modern manuscripts of Mr. Colbert's li-

brary, that was the richest in Europe, except the king's, or that of the Vatican; and, finally, of Mr. Cange's cabinet, than whose collection none can be more curious, since even its catalogue is most ardently sought for by literary connoisseurs.

But to avoid straying into a greater prolixity than is meant on this subject, we have judged it unnecessary to go into a circumstantial detail about the several other acquisitions: however, all who may be curious of knowing more on this head, we refer to the already mentioned catalogue of the royal library.

Mr. Bignon, master of requests, one of the forty of the French academy, lineally descended from Messieurs Bignons, to whom we took an opportunity of paying the eulogiums due, and a most worthy inheritor of their love for literature, as he is of the other great qualities which rendered them so justly celebrated, does now acquit himself with great judgment and distinguished taste, in the honourable charge of master of the royal library.

From what has preceded, manifestly appears the patronising zeal, which several of our ministers have exerted towards enhancing the splendor and magnificence of the royal library; in which number, Mr. de Maurepas ought doubtless to be ranked the first; and next to him Mr. D'Argenson, in whose department it now is; who, as a friend to literature and learned men, looks upon the king's library as one of the most precious objects of his administration. He continues, through taste, and the superiority of his understanding, what had been

commenced by his predecessor. Such qualifications are rarely met with in the possessors of elevated places in the state. Here then let us be allowed to express our grateful acknowledgment to providence: "Happy the nation, that, after being afflicted with so great a loss, can so easily repair it!"



THE JEWISH CABALA, &c.

BY this word, we are not only to understand the oral tradition of the Jews, whose origin they derived from the Mount Sinai, where it was given to Moses along with the written law, and which after his decease devolved to the prophets, and to the kings, who were favourites of the Deity; but especially to the sages, who received it one from the other, by way of an hereditary substitution.

By this term, taken in its strict sense, is implied, *The mystic doctrine, or the hidden philosophy*, of the Jews; in fine, the sum of their opinions relative to metaphysics, physics, and pneumatics.

Among the Christian authors who have employed all their efforts to maintain the importance of the Cabala, and to put it on a level with the other sciences, the celebrated Picus de Mirandola distinguished himself the most: at the age of twenty-four he sustained a thesis at Rome, consisting of a monstrous assemblage of all sorts of propositions, collected from the several Cabalistic books, which for that purpose

he had purchased at very high prices. It was his very warm zeal for the Romish church, that attached him to the Cabala; for having been seduced by the pompous eulogiums which he had heard frequently given to the oral tradition of the Jews, and which almost equalled its virtue to that of the holy scripture, he was soon led to believe, that the Cabalistic books which were sold to him, and authenticated as such, had been composed by Esdras, and contained the doctrine of the primitive Jewish church: nay, he went so far as to think that he discovered therein the mystery of the trinity, of the incarnation, of the redemption of human kind, of the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, as well as that of purgatory, of baptism, the suppression of the ancient law, and finally all the dogmas that are taught and believed by the Catholic church. But his endeavours were not crowned with the desired success; his thesis was suppressed, and thirteen of his propositions were declared to be heretical.



ORIGIN OF THE CABALA.

THIS topic is involved in very great obscurity; wherefore it is a difficult point, if not impossible, to ascertain the epoch of its first beginning; which inconvenience it has in common with all those opinions that spread by degrees, and shoot up in an undisturbed pri-

vacy, until such time as they form a systematic body, and then draw the attention of the public on them.

It would be losing time here, to recite all the visionary notions of the Jews, concerning the origin of Cabalistic philosophy. We refer, for farther information, to the article of Jewish Philosophy, regarding which we shall have an opportunity of saying somewhat in this article. Suffice it to hint, that there have been Jews, who pretended that the angel Raziel, preceptor of Adam, had given to him a book, containing the celestial science of the Cabala; and after having snatched it from him at his expulsion from the garden of Eden, returned it in commiseration of his very affecting supplications.

Others affirm, that Adam did not receive this book till after his sin, having prayed the Almighty to grant him some little consolation in the miserable state which he had deservedly drawn upon himself. They relate, that three days after this earnest petition to the Almighty, the angel Raziel brought to him a book, which revealed a knowledge of all the secrets of nature, of the power of speaking with the sun and moon, of causing diseases and curing them, of overturning cities, of exciting earthquakes, of commanding the good and evil angels, of interpreting dreams and prodigies, and of predicting future events at all times.

They farther add, that this book, by passing from father to son, fell into the hands of Solomon, and discovered to this prince the secret of building the temple by virtue of the word *Zamir*, without making use of any iron instru-

ment. The rabbi Isaac Ben Absalom had this book printed in the beginning of the present century: it was notwithstanding condemned to be burnt by the Jews of his own tribe.

The learned, who have written expressly on the Cabala, are so divided amongst themselves about its origin, that it is almost impossible to strike out any light from their writings on that subject. The diversity of their opinions arises from the various ideas which they had formed to themselves of this science. The greatest number of them, not having examined the nature of the Cabala, they could not avoid falling into error concerning its origin: wherefore we, without entertaining any vain opinion of conciliating such dissentients, shall confine ourselves here, to declare only what to us seemeth the most likely.

I. Those who have studied the history of philosophy, and traced the progressive advances of this science from the beginning of the world to the birth of Jesus Christ, cannot be ignorant that all the nations, especially the eastern, had a science, which they most carefully kept a secret from the crowd, and communicated only to the privileged few. The Jews therefore, from their holding a considerable rank among the Eastern nations, we are easily led to believe, were among the foremost to adopt this secret and hidden method; which the very word Cabala seems to insinuate, signifying the oral and secret tradition of certain mysteries, which the people were forbidden to know.

II. There remains then no room to doubt,

that the Jews had, very early, a secret and mysterious science: but it is impossible to say any thing positive as to their real manner of teaching it, or relative to the nature of the dogmas which it contained, or the select auditors to whom it was communicated. All we can assert is, that their dogmas are not contrary to those contained in the scripture. A probable conjecture however presents itself, which would insinuate, that this hidden science reveals a sufficient display of the mysteries of the new alliance, whose seeds are scattered up and down in the Old Testament: thereby they explained the intent and spirit of the ceremonies observed by the Jews; therein were palpably explained the meaning of the prophecies, the greatest whereof had been proposed under the veil of emblems and enigmas; consequently all such matters were kept a secret from the people, because the gross and carnal sentiments of their groveling souls made them aspire to no higher bliss, than that which worldly possessions can afford.

III. The Cabala, or rather oral tradition, preserved itself pure and conformable to the written law, all the time that the prophets were the depositaries and guardians of the doctrine; but since the ceasing of the spirit of prophecy, it has been corrupted by a heterogeneous mixture of idle questions: yet, notwithstanding this corruption, it still preserves the same lustre which it had enjoyed at its first appearance, and in so undiminished a degree, that idle and frivolous dogmas grafted thereon were honoured with the same veneration as the true.

This was the ancient Cabala, that ought to be clearly distinguished from the *Cabalistic philosophy*, whose origin we are now in quest of.

IV. Let it be first settled as a maxim, that we are not to seek the origin of the *Cabalistic philosophy* among the the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine; because all that we find in ancient writers concerning the traditions that were in vogue among the Jews, can be reduced to a threefold explanation, of the law, of the ceremonies, and of the constitutions, formed by the sages: wherefore, the Cabalistic philosophy did not begin to make its appearance in Palestine, till the Essenians, on becoming imitators of the manners of the Syrians, and of the Egyptians, borrowed from them some of their dogmas and institutes, with which they formed a sect of philosophy. We learn from Josephus and Philo, that this sect observed a most religious secrecy concerning certain mysteries, and certain dogmas of philosophy.

Notwithstanding what has preceded, we are not to believe that it was the Essenians who first communicated to the Jews this new Cabala; because it is most certain, that no stranger was admitted to a knowledge of their mysteries. It was through the channel Simeon Schetachides they learned it, who had imported this new kind of tradition from Egypt, to cultivate it in Judea. It is true, moreover, that the Jews, during their sojournment in Egypt under the reigns of Cambyfes, Alexander the Great, and Ptolomæus Philadelphus, moulded themselves to the manners of the Greeks and Egyptians, and adopted from them the method of

explaining the law in an allegorical manner, and blending foreign dogmas therewith.

There cannot be entertained the least doubt of Egypt's having been the native country of the Cabalistic philosophy, or of the Jews having intermixed with that science some dogmas derived from the Egyptian and Oriental philosophy; of which we shall be quite convinced, if we give ourselves the trouble of comparing the philosophical dogmas of the Egyptians with those of the Cabala. This origin, which we give to the *Cabalistic philosophy*, will appear still more probable to those who are well skilled in, and thoroughly conversant with, the philosophy of the ancients, and particularly with the history of the Judaic system.



DIVISION OF THE CABALA.

THIS philosophy is divided into *speculative* and *practical*. The former consists in the knowledge of explaining scripture conformably to the secret tradition, and in discovering, by this method, the sublime truths that relate to the Deity, spirits, and worlds: it teaches a theory of mystical metaphysics, and a system of refined physics. The latter teaches the art of working miracles by a peculiar application of the words and sentences in scripture, as well as by their being combined in different manners.

I. The partisans of the *practical Cabala* are not deficient in reasons to support its reality;

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they maintain, that proper names are the rays of objects, wherein is a kind of hidden life. It is the Deity who gave their names to things, and in uniting one with the other took care to invest them with an efficacious union. *The names of mankind are writtten in heaven*: wherefore then would the Deity permit their names to be written in his books, unless they appeared to him worthy of being preserved?

In ancient music there were certain sounds that affected the senses in so lively a manner, as to excite and give new spirits to a languishing person, to dissipate melancholy, to drive away the malady under which he drooped, and to sometimes transport him into a temporary rage. There must then necessarily reside some hidden virtue in those sounds for the producing of such wonderful effects. If that be granted, why should we refuse a similar energy to the names of the Deity, and the words of the scripture? *The Cabalists* are not contented with imagining reasons for justifying their *practical Cabala*; they moreover enhance its dignity with a sacred origin, and ascribe the making use of it to all the saints: they declare it was by the means of this art that Moses triumphed over the magicians of Pharaoh, and became so formidable by his miracles: it was by the same art, they say, that Elias brought down the fire from heaven, and that Daniel shut the mouths of the lions: in fine, according to them, all the prophets have made a successful use thereof, in order to come at a discovery and knowledge of those events that are hidden from us by the obscuring veil of remote futurity.

The practical *Cabalists* affirm, that by the arranging of certain words in a certain order, they produce miraculous effects; and the more so, in proportion as they are chosen from a sacred language: wherefore the Hebrew is preferred to all other languages. The miracles too are more or less grand and amazing, in proportion to the greater or less frequency of those words that express either the name of the Deity, or of his perfections and emanations; and therefore a choice is commonly made of the *Sephirots*, or the name of the Deity.

It is necessary to give a particular arrangement to the terms employed, and especially to the seventy-two names of the Deity, which are taken from three verses of the 14th chapter of Exodus, by a singular method, through whose energy they become capable of acting,

They are not always anxiously scrupulous about inserting the name of the Deity; because that of the demons does often as well for them. They believe, for example, that whoever drinks water in the night time, is subject to vertigoes and sore eyes: but in order to be either preserved from those evils, or to be cured of them when they have taken place, according to their faith, there needs nothing more than to arrange in a certain manner the Hebrew word *Sebiauriri*, who is the demon that presides over sore eyes and vertigoes; for upon writing his name in the form of a square, the patient feels the pain to gradually diminish every day until it ceases entirely: which doctrine they found upon those words of Genesis, declaring, that the angels, struck with an immediate

dazzling those who were before the door of Lot, and in such a manner as they could not find it.

The Chaldaic paraphrast having translated the word Blindness by that of *Beschiauriri*, it was thence concluded that it was an angel, or rather a demon, that sent this kind of afflictive forenesh, and which was perfectly cured by writing his name in the manner we have hinted: whence it obviously appears, that the Cabalists have made each demon an all-powerful principle, as the Manicheans did; and that they thought by entering into a kind of treaty with, they were the masters to employ him in what manner they pleased.

Was ever so strange and ridiculous an illusion! How could beings, supposed rational, be induced to think that demons could be the disposers of nature, independent of the Deity; or that he would permit his enemy to enjoy a power almost equal to his own? In the name of common sense, what virtue can certain words have preferably to others? For in whatever different arrangement we put them, does it follow that the order of nature must be changed? If they have not an inherent virtue, what foreign energy can communicate any to them? Is it the Deity? is it the demon? is it human art? They cannot decide. And, O scandal to humanity! there had been zealous partizans of this chimerical absurdity for many centuries.

The first thing necessary is, to cure the imagination of such infatuated mortals, being the seat of this malady: but it is not an easy matter to make a remedy's power to reach so far. The best method then to extinguish, is to let

this art fall into the contempt which it so justly deserves, rather than, by opposing or attempting to refute, give thereto an importance which it naturally has not.

The *speculative Cabala* is of two sorts; the one, that is called the *literal*, the *artificial*, or the *symbolical*; the other, that is called the *philosophical*, or not *artificial*. The *literal Cabala* is a secret, artificial, and symbolical explanation of the holy scripture, which the Jews say they have received from their ancestors; and that by means of letters, syllables, and words transposed, it teaches to derive from a verse an hidden sense, and entirely different from that which it presents at a first reading.

The *philosophical Cabala* abounds with very sublime and symbolical metaphysics in regard to the Deity, spirits, and the world, according to the tradition which the Jews declare to have been transmitted to them from their forefathers. It is divided into two species: the one attaches itself to a knowledge of the divine perfections, and celestial intelligences, and is called the *chariot*, or *mercava*; because the Cabalists believe that Ezekiel hath explained its principal mysteries in the miraculous *chariot*, of which he makes mention at the beginning of his revelations. The other species, which is called *bereschit*, or the *beginning*, makes our sublunary world the object of its study and attention: and the reason of this name having been given to it, was, because it is the first word in Genesis.

This distinction was known at the time of Maimonides, who affirmed that he could un-

fold every hidden meaning in the words *bereschbit*, and the *mercava*; but added this caution, that *bereschbit* is never to be mentioned before more than two persons; and that if Plato, as well as other philosophers, had veiled the secrets of nature under allegorical expressions, how much more cogent reasons were there for so doing in regard to those of religion, whose mysteries are infinitely more profound!

The masters who teach, are not allowed to explain the *mercava* before their pupils. As the doctors of *Puendebita* were one day in consultation with a person of elevated knowledge, who was passing that way, they conjured him to interpret the signification of this *chariot* to them: he in return made a conditional demand, that they should discover unto him all that they knew concerning the creation; to which they agreed; but no sooner had he heard them, than he absolutely refused speaking of the *chariot*; founding his refusal upon these words, in the Cantic of Canticles, *Milk and honey are not under thy tongue*; implying thereby, that a great and pleasing truth ought always to remain under the tongue, and never to be published.

A young student being bold enough to risk the danger of reading Ezekiel, and to attempt explaining his vision, a violent fire rushed out of the chafmal, by which he was immediately destroyed; wherefore the doctors deliberated among themselves, whether it would not be proper to keep concealed from vulgar eyes that book of the prophet which was productive of such great disasters throughout the nation.

As a rabbi was driving the ass of his mas-

ter, R. Jochanan, the son of Sauai, he prayed the permission of speaking, and of explaining before him *the vision of the chariot*. Jochanan alighted immediately, and seated himself under a tree; because it is not allowed that any person should hear it explained while in motion, and mounted on the back of an ass. The disciple spoke; and immediately a fire was seen to descend from heaven: straight all the neighbouring trees poured out, in a vocal chorus, these words of the Psalm, *Thou, oh earth! praise the eternal being, &c.* Hence we may form to ourselves some idea of the great and mysterious efficacy which the Cabalists had united to this *chariot* of the prophet.

Maimonides informs us, that there has never been any book composed for explaining the *chariot* of Ezekiel; and therefore the knowledge of a great many mysteries therein contained has been lost. He adds, that it is a very high presumption in any one to attempt explaining it; seeing that those persons who reveal the secrets of the law are punished; while they who observe a religious silence concerning them are rewarded: and that, for his part, he meant to deliver nothing but what he had learned by divine revelation; that what he was going to communicate no master had taught him, but that he had of himself derived it from the pure source of the scripture, and so resembling, that it might be esteemed nothing more than a translation. Yet this man of mighty promise, this boasting doctor, could not fulfill his engagement; of which indeed he fell very short, and played his disciple off with a few general re-

marks only, that tended by no means to develop the mystery.

The Cabalists are much divided in their explanations of this article; some saying that the wind, which should blow from the north, represented Nebuchodonozor, who ruined Jerusalem, and burnt its temple; that the four animals represented the four angels who preside over monarchies; that the wheels were emblematic types of the empires, which received their first motion, progress, and decay, from the ministry of angels; and that the reason of one wheel's being within another, arose from one monarchy having destroyed another; as the Babylonians had been overthrown by the Persians, these by the Greeks, and they in turn by the Romans.

Besides this, called the literal sense, they pretend to discover therein many other mysteries, both of nature and religion: as for instance. The four animals are four celestial bodies, animated and intelligent; the wheel is the first matter, and the four wheels are the four elements: yet all this wonderful apparatus is no more than the outside of the *chariot*; for on penetrating into its interior part, there, according to them, we may discover the essence of the Deity, his attributes and his perfections, the nature of angels, and the condition of souls after their separation from mortal beings. The grand Cabalist Morus said, that he found the reign of Messiah there. But, in order to give our readers a sufficient idea of the subtlety of the Cabalists, we now present them with the philosophical explanation, which those chime-

rically learned heads gave to the name of Jehovah.

All the names and surnames of the Deity spring from that of Jehovah, as the branches and leaves of a great tree arise from the same trunk. This ineffable name is the infinite source of miracles and mysteries. This name forms an intellectual chain or cement among all the splendours or *sephirot* of which it is the column and support. Every letter, which enters into its composition, abounds with mysteries. The *Y* means one of those things, that no eye hath ever seen; is consequently hidden from mortals, and of whose essence or nature no comprehension can be formed. There is an express prohibition from meditating upon it.--- And to the question, "What is it?" the established answer is, No! as if it implied nothingness; because the one is to the full as incomprehensible as the other. Man may indulge a range of his thoughts from one end of the heavens to the other; but he never can arrive at this inaccessible light, this primitive existence which the letter contains: he must implicitly believe, without daring to attempt at any examination. It is this letter, which, by flowing immediately from the fountain of primitive light, hath given existence to the emanations. It was liable to become sometimes weary on the way; but then it soon recovered new vigour by the assistance of the letter *E*, which is the second in forming this sacred and ineffable name.

The other letters have also their mysteries, and particular connections with the *sephirot*.

The last letter, *H*, discovers the unity of God, and a Creator: but from this unity proceed four great rivers, the four majesties of the Deity, which the Jews call *Sketinah*, and took the hint, they say, from Moses, because he relates, that a river flowed through the garden of Eden, the terrestrial paradise, which afterwards divided itself into four branches.

The entire name of *Jehovah* includes all things; wherefore, whoever pronounces it, embraces with his mouth the whole world, and all the creatures thereof; which is the reason why it should never be pronounced, but with the greatest precaution; the Deity having solemnly declared, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Eternal in vain*. Hereby are not meant those oaths that people violate, and into which the witnessing name of the Deity is improperly introduced: no, this menace implies the law that forbids the pronouncing of this venerable name, except in the temple of the Almighty, when the supreme sacrificer enters into the holy place on the days of propitiation.

Let mankind now be taught a thing, of which till now they have been ignorant; and that is, “ whoever pronounces the name of the Eternal, or *Jehovah*, makes the heaven and the earth to move, in proportion as he moveth his tongue and his lips. The angels tremble on perceiving this new movement of the universe; they are all astonished thereat, and ask of each other, what can have been the cause of the world’s being moved in such a manner?” The answer, wont to be given on such occasions, is, “ because *N*, the impious, hath put his lips in motion to pro-

nounce the ineffable name; and that this name's being pronounced hath put in motion all the names and surnames of the Deity; and they have communicated their movement to heaven, to the earth, and all its creatures. This name hath a sovereign power over all created beings; it governs the world by its power. And now behold the change, according to which the other names and surnames of the Deity are said to range themselves around it, which is the same as the officers and soldiers do observe around their general. Some occupy the first rank; they are called the princes and standard bearers. The others appear like the troops and battalions that compose an army. Under the seventy names are the seventy princes of the nations that compose the universe; so that, when the name of Jehovah influences those other names and surnames, an impression is made from those names and surnames upon the princes thereon dependent; as there is from those princes upon the nations that live under their protection; wherefore the name of Jehovah governs every thing.

It is represented by the figure of a tree having seventy branches, that all derive their juices and support from its trunk; and this is the tree mentioned by Moses, that was planted in the middle of the garden, and whose use was forbidden to Adam; or else it is the name of a king, who has different suits of apparel for the different situations in which he occasionally finds himself. When this prince is in peace, he puts on most superb and magnificent attire, in order to dazzle the people; but when he is

in war, he puts a cuirass on his breast, and a helmet on his body: he undresses himself when retired into his apartment, without any courtiers and ministers; and, finally, he discovers his nakedness, when alone, to his wife.

The seventy nations that people the earth, have their princes in heaven, who there surround the tribunal of the Deity, as officers ready to execute the orders of their king: they range themselves around the name of *Jehovah*; and on the first day of every new year, ask of him their new-year's gift; that is, their portion of the benedictions which they are to shed upon the people subjected to them: for these princes, in fact, are poor, and would have but little knowledge, did they not derive it from the ineffable name that illuminates and enriches them: it gives to them, on the beginning of each year, the portion which it had destined for each nation, and there is no possibility of increasing or diminishing this measure.

In vain would the princes solicit it for more every day of the year; and in vain would the people call upon their princes for the same: it is all to no purpose: and that constitutes the difference there is between the people of Israel, and those of other nations; for as the name of *Jehovah* is the name appropriated to the Jews, they can every day obtain new favours; for Solomon says, *that the words with which he forms a supplication to the Deity, will be present before the eternal Jehovah day and night*: but David affirms, in speaking of other nations, *that they will pray God, but that he will not save them*. What a rhapsody of nonsense and folly!

The intention of the Cabalists is to inform us, that the Deity is the immediate conductor of the Jewish people, while he leaves the unbelieving nations to the direction of angels: nay, they push this matter of mystery still farther, by asserting that there is a great difference observable among the various nations, some of which appear to be less agreeable to the eyes of the Deity, and are in consequence more hardly dealt with than others: and this proceeds from their princes being differently stationed around the name of *Jehovah*; for, notwithstanding that they all receive their nature from the letter *Y*, which begins the name of *Jehovah*, yet their shares of that nature are proportionally different to the difference of places which they occupy. Those placed on the right side, are the mild and generous princes; but those on the left are the hard-hearted and merciless: whence comes this expression of the prophet, *It is better to hope in the Deity, than in the princes*; as the Jewish people do, upon whom the name of *Jehovah* acts immediately.

Herein we can also descry the reason of the Deity's conduct towards the Jews. Jerusalem is the navel of the earth; therefore that city is situated in the middle of the world. The kingdoms, the nations, the provinces, and their inhabitants, surround her on every side; because she is immediately under the name of *Jehovah*; that is her proper name: and now, as the princes, who are the chiefs of the nations, are placed around this name in heaven, so the infidel nations environ the Jewish people upon earth.

By the means of it we can also account for the misfortunes befallen to the Jewish people, and for their now deplorable state. The Deity gave four captains to the seventy princes that are ever watchful of what sins the Jews may commit, that they may take advantage of their corruption, and become enriched at their expence. So, whenever they discover the Jews committing sins, they advance themselves between the Deity and the trespassers, to divert the cares issuing from the name of Jehovah, through whose conveyance benediction floweth upon Israel, in order to incline them towards the other nations that become rich and fattened thereby: and this truth is what Solomon hath so clearly explained by the following words:---*The earth trembles because the slave reigns, and that the fool fills himself with viands.* By "the slave who reigns," he meant the princes; and by "the fool who fills himself with viands," the people whom those princes govern, &c.

The Cabalists, in the main, take a very round-about way to show us, That it is from the Deity alone that every good is derivable, and that he directs all things; 2dly, That the Deity judges all mankind with a justice tempered by mercy; 3dly, That when he is irritated against sinners, he arms himself with wrath and vengeance; 4thly, That when he suffers himself to be appeased, he then lets his compassion and mercy act; 5thly, That he prefers the Jewish people to all the other nations, and that he has given to them a knowledge of himself. In fine, they blend these truths with several errors; such as that of declaring that

the Deity leaves all the other nations of this world under the government of angels.

To the *real, or not artificial Cabala*, may be referred the astrological and celestial alphabet, which is ascribed to the Jews. Nothing more positive can be asserted on this article, than what has been advanced by Postel, who says, *I shall pass perhaps for a lyer, if I say that I have read in the heavens, in Hebrew characters, every thing that is in nature; yet the Deity and his son are witnesses to me that I do not lye: I shall only add, that what I have read was but implicitly.*

Picus de Mirandola, having problematically advanced, *Are all things written in the heaven with distinguishable characters for those persons duly initiated how to read them?* he immediately after insists, that Moses had expressed all the effects of the stars by the term of *light*, because it draws down and conveys upon earth all the heavenly influences: but he afterwards changed his opinion, owning, that not only the characters so much boasted of by the Hebrew doctors were chimerical; but that the vaunted signs also had not the figures of the names that were given to them, that the sphere of Aratus was very different from that of the Chaldeans, who, confounding Libra with Scorpio, counted but eleven signs in the zodiac. Aratus too, who had invented those names, was looked upon by the ancients as very ignorant in matters of astrology.

In short, that person must be quite visionary indeed, who can pretend, like Postel, to find letters in the heavens, and to read them there. Gaffarel, although ecclesiastically connected by

his places, was not more reasonable; for although he did not openly prophesy the fall of the Ottoman empire at a certain time, he firmly believed it, and attempted to prove the solidity of the science, on which he founded that belief, by a great farrago of misquoted learning. He had however the misfortune of surviving the period of his fore-knowledge; which is often the lot of those who do not fix upon a sufficiently long term for the accomplishment of their prophecies. They ought therefore to be cautiously fore-seeing not to risk having, by one contradictory stroke, their fame annihilated, and themselves declared to be visionary fools: but the astrological adepts of this class are too obstinately wedded to the erroneous principles of their false knowledge, to calmly attend to reason, and the sage counsel that prudence would give them.



C A L U M N Y

IS an odious lie, which every body reprehends and detests, were it even for no other reason but the fear of becoming its object one day or other. But very often it happens, that the persons who inveigh against this crime, are not innocent of it, by having recited facts unfaithfully, (by any ways altering, or entirely changing them; and that, either through a precipitate rashness, or from a mere custom of decorating and exaggerating their narrations. A sure, and indeed the only method for never

incurring the charge of calumny, is to never speak ill of any body.

Let us suppose ourselves to be in an imaginary world, where all the words employed are the faithful expression of the speaker's thoughts and sentiments; where he, who in the name of friend offers to do you acts of kindness, is actuated by benevolence alone; where no one seeks to take an advantage of your credulity, in order to feed your mind with fables; where truth prompts every discourse, dictates every recital, and forms every promise; where people live, in consequence, free from all suspicion, distrust, and diffidence; sheltered from all the attacks of imposture, perfidy, and calumniating reports: what a delicious commerce must there be amongst the inhabitants of such a world!

Are you desirous, that in this globe which you inhabit such a state of felicity should prevail? Well, begin by contributing all in your power; behave towards all people with uprightness, sincerity, and truth.

The church, as we are informed by the celebrated Pascal, puts off, until the hour of death, giving the communion to murderers and calumniators: the council of Lateran has pronounced unworthy of admission into clerical orders, all persons that had been convicted of calumny, although they should since have weaned themselves from that vice: and the authors of defamatory libels, who cannot prove what they have advanced, are condemned by Pope Adrian to be whipped; *flagellentur*.

The illustrious author of the Spirit of Laws observes, that among the Romans the law

which countenance citizens, mutually accusing each other, was good, according to the political spirit of that republic, where it was every citizen's duty to be always watchful concerning the common weal. But under the emperors it produced a multitude of calumniators: it was Sylla, according to him, who in the course of his dictatorship taught them by his own example, that so execrable a race of men was not to be punished; nay, sometimes rather to be recompenced. But happy is the government in which they are punished.

The Athenians revered calumny; and Apelles, the most eminent painter of antiquity, made a picture for that purpose, whose composition alone would be sufficient to justify the admiration of his age and country for such a monster. In this excellent piece, Credulity was represented with long ears, stretching out her hands to Calumny, coming up to meet her: Credulity was accompanied by Ignorance and Suspicion: Ignorance was represented under the figure of a blind woman; and Suspicion was exhibited under the figure of a man agitated by secret disquietude, and tacitly applauding himself for some discovery made.

Calumny, with a ferocious look, occupied the middle of the picture, shaking a torch with her left hand, and with her right dragging Innocence by the hair of the head, though movingly, in the form of a child that seemed to call heaven to witness in its behalf. She was preceded by Envy, with piercing eyes, and with a wan and meagre look: she was followed by Stratagem and Flattery at a remote distance,

where objects were as yet discernible. Truth was seen slowly advancing in the footsteps of Calumny, leading Repentance with her in a mourning habit.

What a masterly picture ! The Athenians would have done well had they knocked down the statue erected by them to Calumny, and fixed in its place this picture of Apelles.



THE NATIVES OF CANADIA.

WE are indebted to the Baron de la Hontan for all the knowledge we have of this people, he having resided among them during the space of ten years. In his account he lays before us several conversations which he had with one of those savages concerning religion, and by which it appears that the Baron had not always the best of the argument. It is really surprising to hear an Huron employ with all sophistical subtlety the weapons of our dialectic art, in order to overthrow the Christian religion. The abstract and scholastic terms are almost as familiar to him as to an European, who should have seriously applied himself to the books of Scotus : which unexpected dexterity of mind, among a people uninformed, has given room to surmise, that the Baron de la Hontan meant to throw an air of ridicule upon that religion, in whose doctrine he had been bred up ; and that he puts into the mouth of his imagined Canadian adversary those arguments which he

would be afraid to venture on promulging as from himself.

The greatest part of us Europeans, who have neither beheld nor heard savages converse, fancy them to be men covered all over with hair, living in woods, without any form of society, like beasts, and having no more than an imperfect figure of men; and many people chuse to persevere in this opinion. But those whom we speak of in this article, except the hair of their head, and of their brows, which even many deprive themselves of, have not any hairs upon their body; and when they are by chance surprized with some, they immediately pluck them up by the roots.

They are born white like us; but from their going naked, the oils with which they besmear themselves, and the different colours with which they paint themselves, and that the sun burns, as it were, at long-run into their skin, jointly operate in giving them a tanned complexion. They are of a large make, and of a size superior to ours: they have the features of the face very regular, and the nose aquiline: they are well shaped in general, it being rare to see among them any lame persons, or blind of both, nay, even of one eye, &c.

However, the savages at their first appearance do not make a favourable impression in behalf of themselves, on account of their ferocious look, rustic carriage, as well as of their simple and silent manner of accosting each other, which an European, not intimately acquainted with their customs, would be very far from thinking an act of civility, according to our mode of

politeness, which they adhere to as strictly as we do to ours, and that they often treat with much contempt.

They are not fond of exchanging caresses, and make but few demonstrations of friendship, but are nevertheless good, affable, and relieve either strangers, or the unhappy of their own nation, with a charitable hospitality, that might make the more refined Europeans blush, and confess their inferiority in this regard.

They have a lively imagination, and think very justly upon most affairs: they always employ what to them appear to be the surest means for their attaining an end proposed. They proceed calmly and deliberately, and with a phlegm that would tire our patience. By a principle of honour, which they have formed to themselves from an innate greatness of soul, they are never angry. They have proud, but noble hearts; a fortitude of mind not to be shaken; and a personal intrepidity, that no view of danger can dismay. Their constancy in suffering exceeds the wonders we are told of Pagan heroism, and they are endowed with an equanimity unalterable by prosperous or adverse fortune. All these fine qualities would be too worthy of admiration, if they were not unhappily blended with a number of faults; for they are a light, volatile people, and indolent beyond expression, exceedingly ungrateful, suspicious, revengeful, and so much the more dangerous, as they are skilful in concealing for a long time their brooding resentment.

Upon an enemy unfortunately fallen into their hands, they practise wantonly the most

unheard of cruelties ; and in the invention of new tortures they surpass all the most atrocious proceedings which history relates to us of the ancient tyrants. They are brutal in their pleasures ; vicious through ignorance and malice ; yet their rustic condition, and their privation of the elegant conveniences of life, give them one advantage over us, and that is, to be ignorant of all those refined debaucheries which have been introduced into our social intercourse by luxury and abundance. Let this suffice for a knowledge of them, as mortals in a state of rudeness ; and now let us pass in review their philosophical and religious tenets.

I. All the savage nations maintain that there is a God : they derive their proofs of his existence from the composition of the universe, which manifests the power and glory of its author ; whence it follows, that man has not been the work of chance, but that he has been made by a principle superior in knowledge and wisdom to all other beings, which they call the *Great Spirit*, that in their sense contains all, appears in all, acts in all, and gives motion to all things : in fine, all that we see, and all that we conceive, is this Deity, who, subsisting through all extent, knows no limits, nor the confining manacles of a body, ought not therefore to be represented unto mortal eyes under the figure of an old man, nor indeed of any other form, however beautiful, grand, and immense it might appear : and that is their reason for adoring him in every thing which they behold in this world : for indeed, whenever they see any thing that strikes them with its

superior excellence, such as the stars, the moon, the sun, &c. they cry aloud, and with a rapturous emotion, "O great Spirit, we see thee every where, and in every thing!"

II. They say, that the soul is immortal, because, if it were not, all mankind would prove equally happy in this world; since the Deity being infinitely wise, and infinitely perfect, could not in his supreme justice create one party to be happy, and the other to be unhappy. They pretend that it is the Deity's pleasure (which is not indeed conformable to our ideas) that a certain number of creatures should suffer in this life, that he may reward them for it in the next. They quite disapprove the Christian manner of expression, in saying, that such a one was very unhappy in having been burnt alive, &c. because, according to them, we pronounce that event to be an unhappiness, which is only so in our idea, since nothing can happen but through the will of this infinitely perfect being, that is neither whimsical nor capricious. This manner of reasoning is not altogether so savage.

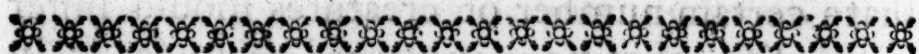
III. The Great Spirit has given reason unto all men, to put them into a condition of discerning between good and evil, and to follow the rules of justice, and of wisdom.

IV. A tranquillity of mind is very pleasing to the Great Spirit, that, on the contrary, detests the tumult of passions, by which men are rendered wicked.

V. Life is a dream, and death an awakening from it, which giveth us an intelligence of visible and invisible things.

VI. The reason of man not being qualified to elevate itself to the knowledge of things that are above this earth; it is not only unprofitable, but hurtful, to strain at penetrating into invisible things.

VII. After death, the souls of mankind repair to a certain place, in which we cannot take upon us to affirm, whether the good are well treated, or the wicked the reverse; because we are entirely ignorant if what we call *good* or *evil*, be deemed so by the Great Spirit.



THE ROMISH CEREMONY OF CANONIZATION

IS a declaration made by the pope, in consequence of a long examination and many solemn acts, that such a person deserves to be inserted in the catalogue of saints, for having led a holy and exemplary life, and having performed some miracles.

The origin of the word *Canonization* seems to be of a less ancient date than the thing itself: it was not made use of till the twelfth century, although we find in the eleventh a decree, or a bull of Canonization, granted at the request of Lintoff, bishop of Augsburgh, by pope John the Fifteenth, to enroll saint Ulderic, or Ulric, in the catalogue of saints.

It is derived from the Greek word *Canon*, signifying a Catalogue, a Rule, Order, &c. In the beginning of this word's being employed, it then meant nothing more than an order of the

pope's or bishop's, by which it was decreed, that the names of them who should have distinguished themselves for a pious life, and any extraordinary virtue, were to be inserted in the sacred diptycks, or the canon of the mass, that a commemorative mention might be made of them in the Liturgy ; to which was superadded the innovating usage of making out a particular office for invoking their notice, and of erecting churches under their protection ; and of raising altars, that thereon the holy sacrifice might be offered up for withdrawing their bodies from their first sepulchral inclosures.

Other ceremonies gradually acceded to these: the images of saints were carried in triumphal processions ; holidays were instituted for celebrating anniversary days of their deaths ; and in order to communicate a still greater solemnity to such proceedings, the pope Honorius the Third, in the year 1225, granted several days of indulgence in honour of the Canonizations.

All these practices are modern, and were totally unknown to the primitive church. Its discipline, in regard to the present subject, during the first centuries consisted in having at Rome, which continued for a long time to be the theatre of persecution, clerks, or public notaries, to carefully collect, and scrupulously indite, the acts of every martyr ; that is, to take down the evidences of all Christians concerning their exit, as well as how they behaved in the midst of torture, what kind they had been made to undergo, what were their last discourses, what were the nature and circumstances of the

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accusations brought against them ; but, above all, what was the determining cause and motive of their being condemned.

In order that these clerks and notaries might not falsify the acts of martyrs, the church appointed besides them the subdeacons, and other ecclesiastic officers, to have a strict eye upon those persons employed, to confirm their narratives with the legal processes, and the accounts given of each martyr's death by public authority. To them the church, according to her good pleasure, ordered a religious homage to be paid, and their names to be inserted in the catalogue of saints.

Every bishop enjoyed a right of doing the same in his diocese; with this difference, that the worship which he ordered in honour of the martyr, whom he permitted the people to invoke, extended no farther than to places of his jurisdiction; although he might prevail, by letters, on others of his mitred fraternity, to do the like: but should they not chuse to comply with such a request, then the martyr was looked upon as beatified only in his diocese; but as soon as ever the church of Rome came to give her approving sanction to such a worship, then it became a general duty to all the particular churches. It was long after this æra that confessors were promoted to the honour of Canonization.

It is very difficult to ascertain at what period exactly this change of church discipline was effected, that the right of Canonization, a privilege enjoyed in common by all bishops, especially the metropolitans and the pope, was ex-

clusively reserved to the last alone. Some writers pretend that Alexander the Third, elected pope in the year 1159, was the first author of this reserve to the papacy, and which was not contested with him by any of the bishops.

The Jesuits of Antwerp, on the contrary, assert, that it has been established but within these two or three hundred years, by a tacit consent, and a custom that has imperceptibly grown into a law, which had been unknown in the tenth and the eleventh centuries; nay, there is an instance of a private canonization made in the year 1373, by Vitikind, bishop of Mindon, in Westphalia, who caused the pious bishop Felician to be worshiped as a saint, by a festival day which he appointed for that end in his diocese. Yet there are monuments of a much more ancient date, which prove, that bishops who are the best acquainted with the extent of their rights, and the most zealous in supporting them, namely, the bishops of France, acknowledge this right to be vested in the pope; which was authentically done by the archbishop of Vienna, and his suffragans, in a letter which they jointly wrote to pope Gregory the Ninth, to intreat that he would canonize Stephen bishop of Die, who expired in the year 1108.

Howbeit, the holy and apostolic see of Rome hath been in possession of this privilege for many centuries, and exerts it with such precautions and formalities, as must always prevent its being overtaken by surprise, or deluded into error.

The cardinal Prosper Lambertini, raised to the papal chair under the denomination of Be-

nedict the Fourteenth, published several learned works upon this subject; all which strongly prove, that nothing false can be introduced into the inquisitorial process that is made concerning the canonization of saints.

Father Mabillon distinguishes canonization into two sorts; the one general, that is, celebrated by the church assembled in an œcumenical council, or by the pope; the other particular, that is, performed by a bishop, a particular church, or by a provincial council. It is also said that canonizations have been made by private abbots.



ANALYSIS OF THE WORD CHARACTER.

IN a moral sense it signifies an habitual disposition of the soul, that inclines to do one thing preferably to another of a contrary nature. Thus a man who *seldom* or *never* pardons an injury, is of a revengeful character. Observe, we say *seldom* or *never*, because a character results not from a disposition being rigorously constant at all times, but from its being generally habitual, and that by which the soul is the most frequently swayed.

Mr. Du Clos, in his reflections upon manners, very judiciously remarks, that the greatest part of the errors and follies in the conduct of mankind happen because they have not their minds in an equilibrium, as it were, with their characters. Thus Cicero was a great genius, and but a weak soul; which is the reason of his being

being elevated to the pinnacle of fame as an orator, although he could never rise above mediocrity as a man. Similar observations might be made on many other celebrated personages.

There is no member of society more dangerous than a man without a character; that is, a person whose soul has not any one disposition more habitual to it than another. We readily confide in a virtuous man; but are distrustful of a villain. The man without a character is alternately the one and the other, nor are we able to determine which; therefore we can look upon him neither as a friend nor an enemy. It is, indeed, a sort of amphibious being, if we may be allowed the expression, that is, not specifically adapted to live in any one element; which calls up to our remembrance that admirable law of Solon, that declared all those persons infamous, who were of no party in times of sedition; because he knew full well, that there are no objects more to be feared in society, than men undetermined from a want of character.



THE CHARACTER OF NATIONS

CONSISTS in a certain habitual disposition of the souls of the inhabitants in each, and that is observable to prevail more among one people than another; although it is not to be met with in every member that composes the community. For example, the character of the French is levity, gaiety, sociabi-

lity, a love for their monarchs, and monarchy itself, &c.

In nations that have subsisted for a long time we can descry a fund of character that has never changed: as, for instance, the Athenians in the time of Demosthenes were great lovers of news; they were so in St. Paul's time; and they are so at this day. We read, in that admirable book of Tacitus upon the manners of the Germans, several characteristic strokes, which are even now verified in their descendants.

It is more than probable that climates influence greatly the general character of their inhabitants; which cannot be attributed to the forms of government, because they are so liable to changes at certain periods of time. We must not, however, entirely exclude the form of government (if it have subsisted for a long time) from a share of influencing the character of a nation.

It is remarkable, that wherever a despotic government is made to prevail, there the people soon become indolent, vain, and fond of frivolous amusements. The manly taste for the *real fine*, and the *real beautiful*, is soon lost among them. And in such a state no one either performs, or even thinks of great things. *

* This is a covered satirical stricture on the French government.



The CHARACTER of SOCIETIES, or particular BODIES.

CONNECTIONS of this sort form, in the midst of a people in general, a resemblance of so many little nations environed by a great one. They are, to speak figuratively, a species of engraftments, good or bad, made in the large trunk of that commonweal to which they belong; and therefore societies are in general said to have a particular character, which is called *The spirit of the body*.

In certain instituted companies, for example, the prevailing characteristic is a spirit of subordination; in others, a spirit of equality: the latter are not the worst off, and are more zealously attached to their customs, than the former are to theirs, which they think they may change. What is often looked upon as faulty in an individual, is deemed meritorious in a society: it were to be wished, according to the sense of an ingenious writer, that literary associations would become pedantic.*

It sometimes happens, that the character of a particular body is widely different from that of the nation, into which it is in a manner transplanted. Such, for example, are private companies of men, who, living under a particular monarch's protection, should make a vow of fidelity to any other prince but their lawful so-

* Whatever necessity there may be for such a wish in France, there is none here, where they are all hyper-pedantic.

vereign; thence consequently have a less zealous attachment for his welfare and glory, than the rest of the nation have. From this evil source sprang up all the evils which the friars caused throughout France in the time of *La Ligue*, or the confederacy against their lawful prince, Henry the fourth. We must not uncharitably believe, but that such a spirit may be amenable to a change, by the concurring circumstances of different times, and different modes of moral duty being adopted.

Mr. de Voltaire, in his admirable essay on the age of Lewis XIV. asserts that the religious orders, whose chiefs reside at Rome, are all so many immediate subjects of the pope, scattered throughout the different nations of Europe. Custom, that makes and gives a sanction to all things, and is the cause of the world's being governed by abuses as well as by laws, has not always permitted sovereigns to apply an effectual remedy against a menacing danger, on account of the useful and sacred things with which it stands connected.

To take an oath of allegiance to any other but one's lawful prince is an act of treasonable criminality in a lay man; but, in the convent, proves an act of religious duty. The difficulty of knowing to what degree this foreign sovereign at Rome ought to be obeyed, the facility of bigoted people's letting themselves be seduced, joined to the pleasure of shaking off a natural yoke to take on one of their own choosing, besides an insurgent spirit of sedition, caused by the tumultuous complexion of the times, have but too often instigated whole religious

orders to serve alien Rome against their native country.

But thanks to an increase of knowledge in France, for a century past, whose good effects, being diffused throughout all ranks of life, have proved the most effectual remedy against this abuse. The many excellent treatises, which have been written upon this subject, are real services rendered to the sovereign and to his people. One of the great salutary changes in our manners, that were brought about in the reign of Lewis XIV. is owing to the persuasion which all the religious orders at that time began to adopt, of their being subjects to the king before, and in preference to, their being servants of the pope. Thus finally, for the well-being of all Romish governments, philosophy broke open the gates of ignorance, which a mislead monkish zeal had long opposed to its admission.



MEMOIRS of CARDANUS.

Hieronimus Cardanus, a native of Milan, was born on the first day of October, 1508. He had been a professor of the medical art in most of the Italian universities; in 1570, was put into prison; and on his being enlarged, repaired to Rome, where the pope gave him a pension. Never was mortal man more remarkable for a strange inequality of behaviour than this very singular man. His life was a series of odd adventures, which he has committed to writing

with a simplicity, or rather a freedom, that is but seldom to be met with among the learned; for, in truth, it seems as if he had written the history of his life for no other purpose, but to give the public an amazing instance, that a person may be endowed with a great genius, yet be a fool at the same time. He makes an ingenuous confession of his good and bad qualities. He seems to have sacrificed every other consideration to a desire of being sincere; and this sincerity being often misplaced tarnisheth his reputation.

Although an author seldom errs when he spontaneously undertakes to give an account of his morals and sentiments, yet we are rather inclined to dissent from, than to believe, what Cardanus relates of himself; because it seems improbable that nature could have formed a character so capricious and so unequal as his was. He paid himself congratulatory compliments for not having a friend in this world, but that in requital he was attended by an aërial spirit, partly emaned from Saturn, and partly from Mercury, that was the constant guide of his actions, and teacher of every duty to which he was bound.

He declared too that he was so irregular in his manner of walking the streets, as to induce all beholders to point at him as a fool. Sometimes he walked very slowly, like a man absorbed in a profound meditation; then all on a sudden quickened his steps, accompanying them with very absurd attitudes.

In Bologna, his delight was to be drawn about in a mean vehicle with three wheels. The

iveliest picture that can be given of this very singular philosopher, is couched in the following verses of Horace, which indeed Cardanus confessed to agree perfectly well with his character.

*Nil æquale homini fuit illi; sæpe velut qui
Currebat fugiens hostem, persæpe velut qui
Funonis sacra ferret: habebat sæpe ducentos,
Sæpe decem servos, &c.*

I M I T A T E D.

Where find a semblance for inconstancy?
Now quick of speed, as if from foes he fled;
Now slow he moves, and with a solemn air,
As if great Juno's altar he'd approach;
Now with attendants crowded, now alone.

When nature did not visit him with any bodily pain, he would procure to himself that disagreeable sensation, by biting his lips so wantonly, or pulling his fingers to such a vehement degree, as sometimes to force the tears from his eyes; and the reason he assigned for so doing was in order to moderate certain impetuous sallies of the mind, whose violence was by far more insupportable to him than pain itself; and that the sure consequence of such a severe practice was his better enjoying the pleasure of health.

Cardanus makes no scruple of owning that he was revengeful, envious, treacherous, a dealer in the black art, a backbiter, a calumniator, and unreservedly addicted to all the foul and detestable excesses that can be imagined: yet notwithstanding (as one should think) so humbling a declaration, there was never perhaps a vainer mortal, or a man that with less ceremony ex-

pressed the high opinion he had of himself than Cardanus was known to do, as will appear by the following proofs.

“ I have been admired by many nations ; an almost infinite number of panegyrics in prose and verse have been composed to celebrate my fame. I was born to release the world from the manifold errors under which it groaned. What I have found out could not be discovered either by my predecessors, or my cotemporaries ; and that is the reason why those authors, who write any thing worthy of being remembered, blush not to own that they are indebted to me for it. I have composed a book on the dialectic art, in which there is neither a superfluous letter, nor one deficient. I finished it in seven days ; which seems a prodigy. Yet where is there a person to be found, that can boast his having become master of its doctrine in a year ? And he that shall have comprehended it in that time, must appear to have been instructed by a familiar demon.”

When we consider the transcendent qualities of Cardanus's mind, we cannot deny his having cultivated it with every species of knowledge, and his having made a greater progress in philosophy, in the medical art, in astronomy, in mathematics, &c. than the most part of his cotemporaries who had applied their study but to one of those sciences. Scaliger, who wrote with much warmth against Cardanus, is candid enough to own the other's being endowed with a very comprehensive, penetrating, and incomparable mind ; wherefore, every thing duly examined, we cannot help joining in opinion, that

his soul must have been of a most extraordinary cast.

He has been accused of impiety, and even of atheism; because in his book *de Subtilitate* he quotes some principles of different religions, with the argument upon which they are founded. He proposes the reasons offered by the Pagans, by the Jews, by the Mahometans, and by the Christians; but those of the last in the weakest light. Nevertheless, in reading the book which Cardanus hath composed *de vitâ propriâ*, we find more characteristic marks of a superstitious man, than of a free-thinker. It is true, indeed, that he owns he was not a devotee, *parum pius*; but he at the same time declares, that altho' he was naturally very vindictive, he often let slip the occasion of satisfying his resentment: let such a neglect then be ascribed to his veneration for the Deity, *Dei ob venerationem*.

He says, "there is no form of worship more pleasing to the Deity, than that of obeying the law, against the strongest impulsion of our nature to trespass against it." He plumes himself greatly on having refused a considerable sum of money offered to him by Edward, king of England, on the condition that he would give to that prince those very titles which the pope had taken from him. We cannot find, in any work, proofs of more solidity and good sense, than in the reflexions made by him in the twenty-second chapter, where he unfoldeth his idea of religion. The reason which he assigns for his love of solitude, instead of making him liable to, ought rather to free him from, the charge of impiety; viz. "When I am alone,"

says he, "I am then more than at any other
"time in company with those I love; the Deity,
"and my good angel."

Cardanus had a vast many irregular faculties, that were more daring than judicious, and fonder of a redundancy than of a choice in materials to work upon. The same capriciousness observable in his moral conduct, is to be remarked in the composition of his works. We have a multitude of his treatises, in which the reader is stopped almost every moment by the obscurity of his text, or the digressions from the subject in point.

In his arithmetical performances there are several discourses on the motion of the planets, on the creation, and on the tower of Babel. In his dialectic work, we find his judgment upon historians and the writers of epistles. The only apology which he makes for the frequency of his digressions is, that they were purposely done for the sooner filling up of the sheet, his bargain with the bookseller being at so much per sheet; and that he worked as much for his daily support, as for the acquisition of glory.

It was Cardanus who revived, in latter times, all the secret philosophy of the Cabala and Cabalists, which filled the world with spirits; a likeness to whom he asserted we might attain by purifying ourselves with philosophy: he chose for himself however, notwithstanding such reveries, this fine device, *Tempus mea possessio, tempus meus ager*; "Time is my sole possession, and the only fund I have to improve."



THE HISTORY OF CARDS.

THE subject of the present article are small oblong leaves cut out of paste-board; commonly white on one side, and painted, on the reverse, with human or other figures. They are employed in several games that have given rise to the well-known term of *playing at Cards*; some of which games are entirely dependent on chance, but others jointly upon chance and combination. Among the former we may reckon *Lansquenet*, *le Breland*, *Pharaoh*; and among the latter, *Ombre*, *Piquet*, and *Mediateur*.

In several of them an equality is most exactly preserved, amongst the gamesters, by a just compensation of advantages and disadvantages; while in others there is a manifest advantage on the side of certain players, and disadvantage on that of others. There is an apparent cunning in the invention of every game, and many of them cannot be played to a superior degree, without exerting a good deal, at least, of that which is congenial with the spirit of the game.

Father Menestrier, a Jesuit, in his work called *The Curious and Instructive Library*, gives us a little history of the origin of cards. After having observed that the games played with them are useful, whether in relaxing the mind, or by instructing it; that the creation of the world had been but a kind of play for the Supreme Being; that they who taught the first

elements in ancient Rome, were called *Ludi Magistri*, “The play (or game) Masters; and that even Christ himself did not disdain to mention the plays or games of children; he then divides them into games of hazard, as those on the dice; and of combination, as those of the chess-board; and finally, into a mixture of chance and combination, as those on the cards. But there are games played with the last agent, which, as we have already observed, belong entirely to chance.

According to this author, playing-cards were unknown till the year 1392, when Charles VI. fell into a lethargy. And indeed it is natural to think, that they could be but in little use before the invention of engraving in wood, on account of the expence which the painting of cards must have occasioned.

Father Menestrier adds moreover, that the Germans, who had made the first engravings on wood, were the first also to have moulds engraved for cards, which they filled with extravagant figures: but others on the contrary pretend, that the impression of cards was one of the first steps towards making an impression with engraved characters upon wooden plates; and they quote, in proof of this assertion, the first essays of printing, which are to be seen in the Harlem, as well as in the Bodleian library. They think also, that curious enquirers must have made an earlier discovery of this ancient origin, which they ascribe to printing, had a proper attention been paid by them in considering how the great letters of our manu-

scripts for nine hundred years have been formed by the help of colouring.

The original intention of playing with cards, according to this father, was to exhibit the image of a peaceful life; and by that of chess, (a much more ancient game) to represent a picture of war. The four great divisions of human life are emblematically delineated in a pack of cards: Hearts stand for the clergy assembled in the choir, and as it were the heart of the church; which is a poor kind of rebus: Spades allude to the profession of arms: Clubs, to the tillers of the earth, as well as labouring men of all denominations: and, lastly, Diamonds rank for the inhabitants of cities, whose apartments are floored in general with a tiling cut in the diamond form. All this surely is very strained work, and renders both the origin assigned; and the allusions thence educed, equally ridiculous.

We learn also from Menestrier, that among the Spaniards the same things were represented by other names: as, for instance, the four kings, David, Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, were in their sense emblematic of the four great monarchies, the Jewish, the Greek, the Roman, and the German: the four dames, Rachel, Judith, Pallas, and Argine, the anagram of Regina (for there never was a queen called Regina) express the four manners of reigning, by Beauty, by Piety, by Wisdom, and by Birth-right. The name of Valet, in English knave, which hath since been degraded, was then given but to the vassals of great and mighty

lords, or to young gentlemen not as yet arrived to the rank of Chevaliers.

The strongest reason to induce our thinking that this game took its rise in France, is to be inferred from the fleurs-de-lis being a decoration perpetually annexed to the habiliments of those figures that are painted on cards. The name La Hire, which is seen at the bottom of the Knave of Hearts, was in all probability the inventor of cards, as well as the intimate companion of Hector, and D'Ogier the Dane, who are the valets, or knaves, of Diamond and Spades; and it seems not unlikely too, that the card-maker had reserved for himself the knave of Clubs for an affixing of his name to it.

Great taxes have been laid in France upon cards, as well as tobacco; yet we do not hear, that the greatest employers of the former, or consumers of the latter, have dared to complain of them. Who, in days of yore, would have thought, that these two superfluities would increase to such a degree, as to become productive of two very important branches in our public farms? Let the uninformed be cautious of imagining, that cards are of themselves too inconsiderable to be an object of such importance; because many a card-maker has two or three hundred packs manufactured for him in a day.

There is a practicable scheme of rendering this article of the card-revenue still more beneficial to the state: which we have the less reluctance to communicate, as it can affect

* It is the custom in France to farm out to contractors several branches of the public taxes.

no person who cannot bear it; and that is, to tax the price of cards at a lower rate than they are sold at; because there would then be so little difference between new cards and old ones to deal with, that it would become a determined custom to have fresh packs for every hand.

The farmer general and the card-maker would find their account therein; which is evident from the custom of dealing the same cards twice, thrice, or four times over; but, by a diminution of the price, the same cards would never appear the second time on the table, and a constant succession of new ones would for ever prevent the re-appearing of the old: whereby those, who now, through the dealing with the same cards, neither make nor vend in a day above two hundred packs, would then fabricate, or dispose of, three or four hundred: the card-maker would recover, on the increased quantity, what he loses in the sale of single packs; and the income of the public farm would be greatly augmented without hurting an individual.

Is it not a matter of surprise, that the inhabitants of France, who value themselves so much for their good taste, and who seem so desirous of attaining to perfection even in the most trifling articles of life, should remain satisfied with these insipid figures, which are presented to them upon cards; since it is evident, from what has preceded in this article, that it would not cost any thing more to exhibit agreeable objects thereon? Yet from this remark a conclusion arises, that we do not play so often

as some people may think, for amusement only, and without any view of interest; for whether the present motive be, either to kill time, or to win money, we are quite unconcerned about the cards being well or ill painted.



THE PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM OF DES CARTES.

THE philosophy of this great man is commonly called, among the learned, *Cartesianism*, in compliment to his name latinized into *Cartesius*. We think it not improper to premise a few particulars relating to his person, before we proceed to the grand productions of his exalted mind.

René Des Cartes was born on the 31st of March, 1596, at la Haye, a little village in Touraine. His father, Joachim Des Cartes, was a counsellor at the parliament of Britany; and his mother, Joan Brochard, was daughter of the lieutenant general of Poictiers. They gave to our hero, during his younger years, the surname of Du Perron, from a little lordship of theirs, situated in Poictiers, which, after the father's death, devolved to him in his share of inheritance.

The delicacy of his temperament, and the frequent infirmities to which he was almost a martyr during his infancy, made those who were entrusted with the care of him, to fear, lest he should soon follow the fate of his mother, who died in a short time after she had

been delivered of him. But he luckily got the better of all his ailings, and found his strength increasing as he advanced in years.

When he was about the age of eight years, his father, on discovering in him a very promising inclination for study, joined to an ardent desire of being informed, sent him to the college of La Fleche; where, during five years and a half, he applied himself to the study of humanity; and in that short time not only made a considerable progress in the knowledge both of the Greek and Latin tongues, but acquired also a taste for poetry, which accompanied him to the end of his life.

From humanity, his next promotion was to the class of philosophy, to which he seriously applied, although it was then in a condition too imperfect to either please, or satisfy a mind like his. But the study of mathematics, to which he dedicated the last year of his residence at La Fleche, made him ample amends for the disgusts which he had endured from the then absurd philosophy: as he advanced in pursuit of them, they still revealed new charms to him. He seized with zeal on every opportunity that presented itself to him, and of devoting his thoughts entirely to a study with which he was become so enamoured.

The rector of the college permitted him to remain longer in bed every morning, than was allowed to the other students; and for two reasons: the one was on account of his health, from its natural delicacy; and the other was from having observed, in young Des Cartes, a mind entirely bent to meditation. It was cus-

tomary with this youth, from the moment of his awaking every morning, to exercise his meditative faculty, for which he found himself the better enabled, from a recruit both of mental and bodily vigour supplied by the hours of rest; which practice became so habitual to him, that he made it his constant manner of studying for life: and it may be safely asserted, that to those mornings, dedicated to meditation by Des Cartes while in bed, we owe all the important productions of so great a genius, both in philosophy and mathematics.

Des Cartes' father, having made his elder brother embrace the profession of the law, seemed to design him (then called young Du Perron) for a military life; but his being so young, and of so weakly a constitution, appeared strong dissuatives from exposing him so early to the toils of that laborious profession: he was therefore sent to Paris, after having finished his studies at La Fleche.

The young Des Cartes, on his arrival in that bewitching city, found himself not inaccessible to the various lures of a pleasurable life, but soon conceived a violent passion for gaming; and the more so, from his having been lucky at play: but he was soon prevailed on to put a stop to that dangerous passion, by the salutary advice of father Mersenne, a Jesuit, whom he had known at La Fleche, as well as by his own mature reflexions.

He then determined on re-applying himself to study, which he had forsaken since his departure from the college of La Fleche; and secreting himself for that purpose from all idle

companions, he took up his lodging in a very retired house at Fauxbourg St. Germain, without letting any acquaintance know the place of his retreat. He lived there a part of the year 1614, and the following years almost entirely, without either going abroad, or seeing any visitor whatsoever.

Having thus resumed his passion for study, he applied himself entirely to that of the mathematics; for whose sake particularly he had betaken himself to that sequestered life, in order to have sufficient leisure. His favourite object, during that seclusion from the world, was the making himself master of geometry, and the analysis of the ancients, with which he had made himself pretty well acquainted while at college.

When he had attained to the age of twenty one years, he thought it high time for him to enter into the army; for which purpose he repaired to Holland, in order to bear arms under Prince Maurice. Although he had made choice of that military school, the most brilliant then in Europe, by the great number of heroes formed and daily forming themselves under so auspicious a general, he did not propose to himself to become a distinguished warrior; no: all his intention was to become a spectator of the many parts performed on this great theatre; and there to study the manners of every character that should present itself. This was the reason why he would accept of no commission; that he supported himself at his own expence, and that only once for mere form-sake he had consented to receive pay.

But there being a truce then, the young Des Cartes passed his time in the garrison of Breda: but he did not remain long in idleness. A problem which he had resolved with great ease, made him known to Isaac Buckman, principal of the college of Dordrecht, who was then luckily at Breda, and through whose means the youthful proficient was introduced to several learned men in those parts.

He employed himself while there upon several works, of which the only one that has appeared in print, is his Treatise upon Music, which he composed in Latin, according to his long-adopted custom of conceiving and writing upon most subjects in that language. After he had served some campaigns under different generals, he became quite tired of a military life, and quitted it entirely before the end of the campaign in the year 1621.

He deferred, until he should have done travelling, to make choice of a state for life: however, after all the reflexions that he made for and against each that presented itself to his thoughts, he judged it preferable not to subject himself to the duties of any particular employment, and so to continue the master of himself.

After many other voyages which he had since that time made in different countries, Christina queen of Sweden, to whom he had sent his Treatise upon the Passions, caused reiterated supplications to be made to him, in the beginning of the year 1649, to repair to her court. Notwithstanding any repugnance he might have for undertaking a new voyage, he could not help complying with the queen's request, and

therefore embarked on board of a ship which she had sent purposely for him. He arrived at Stockholm in the beginning of the month of October, and was lodged at the hôtel of Mr. Chanut, the French ambassador, his friend, and who was at that time absent from home.

The queen, on whom he waited to pay his respectful duty next morning, received him with every mark of distinction, even to such a degree as to be particularly remarked by all the courtiers, and which in all likelihood contributed to increase that jealousy, which his arrival only had given rise to in the bosom of the Swedish *litterati*, who beheld in him a formidable competitor.

In a second interview, the queen, in order to learn his philosophy from himself, fixed upon the first hour after rising every morn, at which time she was quite disengaged from any embarrassment of state affairs, was more tranquil, and self-collected, in order to succeed in her new pursuit.

Des Cartes cheerfully submitted to the task of attending the queen in her library every morning at five o'clock, without throwing in any apprehensive excuse as to the danger which such an innovation in her manner of living, as well as the cold of the climate, exceeding all that he had felt in other regions, might cause to a valetudinarian frame like his.

The queen, in return for his obliging readiness, assented to the request made to her on his behalf, which was, that he should be dispensed with from all court-ceremonial, and not bound to attend there, only on the hours appointed

for her instruction. But previous to a commencement of their morning conferences, it was the queen's desire that he should suspend his attendance for five or six weeks, in order to habituate himself to the climate, and become familiarized with the genius of the people; which measure she hoped might introduce him to the forming such connections, as would possibly prove additional motives for spending the remainder of his life at Stockholm.

In the beginning of the year 1650, he had drawn up the regulating statutes for an academy to be established in that metropolis; which he carried to the queen, to be submitted to her royal inspection, on the first day of February, which was the last time he ever saw her majesty.

On returning homeward from the palace, he was alarmed with the fore-running symptoms of that malady which since put an end to his life. He was seized the next day with a continued fever, and an inflammation of the lungs. Mr. Chanut, who had just recovered from such a malady, would fain have him treated in the same manner that he had been. But Des Cartes's intellects were thrown, by the raging of the distemper, into such a violent state of confusion, that he could not attend to any arguments that were offered to him, but obstinately persevered against losing any blood, saying to those who recommended it, "Pray, gentlemen, be sparing of French blood."---However, he consented to the operation when it was too late; for the danger still increasing, he expired on the 11th of February, in the year 1650, in the 54th year of his age.

The queen was greatly afflicted by this event, and resolved to have his corpse interred among the tombs of the Swedish monarchs, with a pomp suitable to his extraordinary deserts, and to have a mausoleum in marble erected to the memory of so great a man. But Mr. Chanut prevailed on her majesty to permit his body's being deposited privately in the burying-ground of the hospital of orphans, according to the customary and religious usage of the Roman-catholic church.

His corpse remained in Stockholm until the year 1666, when it was taken up at the solicitation and under the care of Mr. d'Alibert, one of the treasurers of France, * in order for its being conveyed to Paris; whither it was brought the following year, and interred there anew, with very great pomp, on the 24th of June, 1667, in the church of St. Genovefa of the mount.

Although Galileo, Torricelli, Pascal, and Boyle, be (properly speaking) the undoubted fires of modern physics, yet it must in justice be owned, that Des Cartes, by the enterprizing boldness of his genius, and by the merited fame which his philosophical system hath for a long time enjoyed, is, of all the learned men in the last century, the person to whom we are the most obliged. Until he appeared, the study of nature was benumbed, spiritless, and inert, from a torpidly prevailing usage throughout all the universities, of whelming the human mind under the stupid farrago of peripatetic absurdities.

* A purchasable place in that kingdom.

Des Cartes with a soaring genius, and a most penetrating mind, saw into the crudeness of that futile system, therefore generously rose up to rescue nature, so long defaced, from the oppressive tyranny of the schools, which he humorously displayed to the public's view in their true colours, and threw so strong a ridicule on the knowledge which they pretended to communicate, as to dispose people's minds in general to seek out for some other, and a surer guide to science. He then offered himself to undertake that desirable office of conducting others to the path of truth; and as he employed, for that purpose, a method of which every one found himself capable, an universal desire of being better informed pervaded all seminaries for the instructing of youth.

This was the first, but not the least good produced by Des Cartes' philosophy. The passion for it became almost general, through every rank of life, even among levee-hunters at the court, and those in the rude service of arms. Nay, the neighbouring nations were become jealous of the progress which Cartesianism had made amongst us, and nearly in the same manner as they had been of the success with which the Spanish adventurers were crowned in the Indies; and that excited several to attempt the making of similar establishments. Even so Des Cartes' doctrine of nature, by arousing an universal emulation, gave occasion to other attempts, and more authenticated discoveries; from which the Newtonian system arose, the former having been the unquestionable forerunner of the latter.

We shall not expatiate here upon the merit of Des Cartes' geometry ; since there is no body, capable of understanding, that doubts either its excellency, or the happy application he made of it to optics : and, things duly considered, it is perhaps more glorious for him to have surpassed, in those laborious researches of the human mind, all his philosophical predecessors from the birth of time down to him, than for the moderns to have gone in some things farther than he had.

We now proceed to give a succinct, yet satisfactory view of the leading principles that are scattered through the great number of works which he has published, and shall begin with his doctrine of Method.

When Des Cartes was in Germany, finding a great deal of time on his hands, on account of that inactive state which is attendant on winter quarters, he employed the several months of that season to re-examine, and make to pass before him as it were in a review, all the various branches of human knowledge he had acquired, either during the time of his college-studies, or in his travels since, or that had accrued to him either from his own reflections upon what he had read, or seen ; or what he might have learned from others : all which he found to be enveloped with such darkness and obscurity, that he resolved upon pulling down so irregular and unsatisfactory an edifice, in order to build up a new and more pleasing one in its stead, through the efficient means of connection, order, and method.

1. He sets off by laying aside, and declaring that he means not to meddle with, revealed truths; because in his opinion, whoever would undertake to unfold them, and hope to succeed in such an enterprize, must of necessity be favoured with some extraordinary assistance from heaven, and be really more than man.

2. The first maxim adopted by him, as the rule of his conduct through life, was to obey the laws and customs of his country, to adhere to the religion in which he had been born, and trained up to, as well as espouse, in all matters of debate, those who professed the most moderate opinions.

3. He thought it necessary to prescribe this provisional rule to himself, for the better succeeding in his research after those truths which he intended to investigate, and that might prove too long, seeing that the hurried business of this life will not allow of much delay. Prudence therefore demanded of him that he should form a plan to steer his conduct by. This made him add a second maxim to the foregoing, and to the purpose annexed: "That he would be as fixed and determined as possible in all his actions, and would as firmly adhere to doubtful opinions, (none better presenting themselves) when once he should have embraced them, as he would, had they been averred in the strongest manner." His third maxim, was, "to endeavour at conquering himself rather than fortune, and changing his own desires, rather than to wish for a change in the order of the world." From his seriously re-

reflecting upon the different occupations of mankind, with a view of discovering what choice it were better for him to make, he concluded that he could do nothing better than to employ his life in the cultivating of his reason, by the method with which we are going to present our readers.

4. Des Cartes being confirmed in these maxims, which with the sacred articles of the faith he professed, and that he never departed from, he set apart as not to be tampered with, and thought in regard to all his other opinions that he might abide by, renounce, or employ them in whatever manner his judgment should direct; wherefore, congruously to that sentiment, he thus proceeds.

“ Because our senses deceive us sometimes, I was induced to suppose that no object is exactly such as they represent it to us; and because there are men who err in reasoning, even about the most simple propositions of geometry, and are guilty of paralogisms concerning them, I imagined myself to be as liable to fail as any other person, and consequently rejected, as false, all the reasonings which I had credited before as so many demonstrations. Upon reflecting that all the same thoughts, which visit us while awake, may occupy our minds when asleep, without any one of them for that reason being true, I resolved on fancying to myself that all the notions, which had hitherto introduced themselves into my intellects, were no more founded on truth, than the illusive phantoms of our dreams are. But it immediately occurred to me, that while I was thus working

myself up to think every thing around me false, I, who thought so, must myself be something; and being farther checked by this cogent truth, *I think, therefore I am*, whose force all the laboured and extravagant suppositions of the sceptic tribe have never been able to defeat; I concluded, that I might, without the least scruple, adopt it as a first principle for the philosophy I was in quest of.

“ On examining afterwards with attention what I was, I perceived that I could influence myself to think I had no body, that there was no world, nor existence of place where I actually was, but that, notwithstanding all such chimerical efforts, I could not carry the point so far as to think *I am not*; nay, so far from it, that I thence began to doubt the truth of these notions I was leaning to, because nothing can be more clear, or more self-evident, than that *I am*: whereas, had I only ceased to think, although every thing which before that event had been known to me, were to remain true, I could have no reason to believe I had enjoyed existence.

“ From these premises it follows, that I know myself to be a substance, whose entire essence or nature consists in thinking; and which, to exist, stands in need neither of place, nor any other material concomitance; that *this I*, that *this myself*, this soul by which *I am what I am*, is absolutely distinct from the body, and more easily known than the *latter* is; and that, although this should not exist, the other, the soul, would nevertheless be what and all she is.

“ After this conclusion, I betook myself to consider in general, what might be the absolute requisites for a proposition's being true; because, from having discovered one which I knew to be such, I thought it also incumbent on me to find, in what consists the truth and certainty of a proposition; for having already remarked, that in those very words *I think, therefore I am*, there is nothing upon which I can found my belief of having advanced a truth, I am convinced of it then from my perceiving very clearly that *to think I must necessarily exist*; wherefore I judged I might establish, for a general rule, that *the things which we conceive very clearly, and very distinctly, are all true.*”

5. Des Cartes indulgeth himself more copiously upon this subject in his meditations, than even in his discourse or essay upon method, in order to prove that there is no *thinking* without *existence*. In order to be before-hand with all those who might contest this first principle with him, he affirms, that while he thinks, he is, and that while he is, he thinks, whether awake or asleep, or though a superior being should endeavour to deceive him. He thus procures and establishes, for his purpose, a first certainty, and for which he is obliged only to the clearness of the idea that affects him. Thereon he founds the celebrated rule of holding for true whatever is clearly contained in the idea we have of any thing: whence we may observe, by the chain of his reasoning, that he both understands, and by implication adds another part to this rule, viz. to hold nothing for true but what is clear,

7. He strengthens himself in this discovery, by considering that existence is a perfection contained in the idea which we have of a being most sovereignly perfect. He thinks himself therefore equally authorized, by his rule, to assert that the Deity exists, as he is to affirm, that he, Des Cartes, exists, because he thinks.

8. He continues, by this manner of uniting several immediate consequences, to form a first chain of progressive arguments, all which he thinks to be most perfectly evident concerning the nature of the soul, that of the Deity, and the nature of the body.

9. He makes a very important remark on his method, which is, that the continued series of reasoning, and deductions so simple and so easy, which the geometricians employ towards happily unravelling their most difficult demonstrations, first suggested to him the notion that all things, which are the subjects of human knowledge and enquiry, can be found to connectively follow in a similar manner; so that, if we be cautious to abstain from receiving as true, but what is really so, and that we always follow the order necessary for rightly deducing one thing from another, by this means there is no object, however remote, but we shall reach, nor any, so hidden, but we shall discover in time.

10. It was through a full reliance upon this hope, that our illustrious philosopher began to form an alliance between his first discoveries, and three or four laws of motion or mechanism, which he thought to have clearly discovered in nature, and that they appeared

sufficient to him for the explanation of every phenomenon, and the forming a chain of science equal to the universe, and all its contents, without omitting an iota.

“ I resolved, says he, to leave the world we are in to the dispute of philosophers, and to speak only of what might happen in the new world, if the Deity were disposed to create, in every part of imaginary space, a sufficient quantity of matter for its composition, whose different particles should be shaken in divers directions without any regard to order, so that as great a confusion and chaös might ensue, as that which the poets have feigned; and that afterwards he need only to lend his ordinary concurrence in the nature of things, and permit them all to be actuated by the rules which Des Cartes had established.

“ I have moreover, says this world-making philosopher, displayed what the laws of nature are---I afterwards shewed how the greatest part of the constituent matter of this chaös ought in consequence of these laws to be disposed of, and arranged in a certain manner so as to make it resemble our universe, some of its particles being peculiarly adapted for entering into the composition of our terraqueous globe, some for that of the planets, others for that of the comets, and a select quantity for the sun, and the fixed stars---From those exalted regions, I descended to a more minute account of our earth, by explaining how the sea, the mountains, the springs, and the rivers, might be naturally produced, as well as how various metals are found in their respective mines, how plants

grow in the fields, and how in general the great variety of bodies, called the *mixed* or *compound*, are engendered.

“We may believe,” says he, “without injuring the miracle of creation, that through the energy of the laws of motion or mechanism, established in nature, all merely material bodies might be rendered such as we see them. From a description of this generating process of animated bodies and plants, I passed to that of animals, and particularly to that of the human race.

II. Des Cartes finishes his discourse upon method, by communicating to us the fruits which he had derived from his own. “I concluded,” says he, “after closing my remarks on how far these general notions might conduct us concerning physics, that I could not keep them any longer concealed without greatly sinning against the law, which obligeth us to contribute, as much as it is in our power, to the general good of mankind: for they have shewn to me, that it is possible for us to attain every branch of knowledge useful to life, and that, instead of an useless speculative philosophy taught in the schools, a practical one may be learned, that would soon make us acquainted with the force and action of fire, of water, of air, of the stars, of different situations, and of all the bodies that surround us, as distinctly as we are with the various trades of our handicraftsmen; that in a like manner we might make them employ their several faculties towards effecting the special purposes for which they had been intended, and that by thus

proceeding we should become in time the lords and masters of Nature."

Des Cartes finally congratulates himself on the many and great advantages that may be hence derived to natural philosophy, to the medical art, and even to health itself: one chief end of his accumulated knowledge was, to be enabled thereby to exempt him from the infinite number of maladies to which we are liable, and perhaps to protect him from the enfeebling approaches of old age.

Such was the method invented by Des Cartes; such were his promises, or rather hopes; all grand, it must be owned! But then, in order that a just valuation of them may be made, it is not amiss to advise the reader, that he must not suffer himself to be prejudiced against the renunciation of all material knowledge, which our philosopher sets out with; because we are at first tempted to laugh, on seeing him hesitate, whether he should believe there was any world, space, or substance whatever: but this was no more than a metaphysical doubt, which implies nothing absurd or dangerous: and in order to form a proper judgment in this affair, we are to call to mind the circumstances with which Des Cartes found himself embarrassed.

When this great genius arose, there prevailed, in all the philosophical schools of those uninformed times, a strange and unaccountable farago of entities, of substantial forms, of qualities attractive, repulsive, retentive, connective, expulsive, with a number of others, no less ridiculous than obscure; at which, so

sagacious a mind as Des Cartes' was exceedingly disgusted. He had imbibed an early fondness for the method of the geometricians, who, from one incontestable truth or granted point, conduct the mind to some other truth, before unknown to the learner; then from that to another, and so on *ad infinitum*; which never fails to procure that mental conviction, which is ever attended with a pleasure of the highest kind. He resolved on introducing the same method into the study of nature, and believed that, by setting out from some plain and simple truth, we might attain to the most hidden, as well as more complicated; and that, in consequence, physics, or a knowledge of the formation of bodies, might be taught in the same manner that geometry is.

We should not be so averse as people generally are, from owning our errors, could we be informed that even the greatest men have been guilty of the like; for philosophers might serve as a supplement to the general deficiency among us, of knowing how to study ourselves, if they had left behind them the histories of their mental progress in learning; which Des Cartes has generously done; and that is perhaps one of the greatest advantages to science, of which his method has been productive.

Instead of attacking directly the scholastic prejudices, he points out to us the time when he was engaged in them himself: he conceals not the obstacles which he had to conquer, in order to be freed from them: he lays down the rules of a method, much more plain and easy than any that had been employed before the publication

of it: he lets us but gradually into the secret of those discoveries, which he thinks he has made, and by so ingenious a device prepares the minds of his pupils for the better receiving of those new opinions which he means to establish. It is very probable, that so engaging a conduct contributed not a little to that revolution in philosophy, of which he was the author.

The method of geometricians is unquestionably good in itself. But has it all the extent which Des Cartes would fain give it? That is to be doubted: for, although we can proceed geometrically in physics, it is only in particular parts of them; nor must we ever indulge a hope of forming a connection among all by that means. We are to look upon nature in a quite different view from that in which we are wont to consider measures, and the different proportions of magnitude, relative to which the Deity has endowed men with an intelligence capable of penetrating very far; because that Supreme Being meant that he should be capable of building a house, of arching a vault, or forming a dyke, and of executing several other necessary works, for whose completion he must call in the assistance of numbers and measuring.

On creating such an artist, the Deity infused principles into him appropriated for the guidance of the several operations he is qualified to undertake: it having been always the intention of Providence, that man should make use of the world as he finds it, and not think of building one according to his own whimsical notions, he has been admitted but to the knowledge of those usual qualities that fall under the cogni-

zance of his feeling, and experimental enquiries. But to have a clear and distinct view of this immense machine, his limited intellects must never hope.

There is another fault in the method of Des Cartes, which is, that, according to him, we must begin by giving the definitions of things, and afterwards look upon those definitions as so many specified principles whereby we may be enabled to discover their inherent properties: whereas the contrary method seems to be the better, which bids us to begin by tracing out their properties; for if the notions which our understanding is capacitated to acquire, are no more than the different collections of simple ideas which experience hath made us to unite under certain names, it is surely more natural to form them, by tracing those ideas in that very order, according to which experience daily presents them to us, than preposterously to begin by giving definitions, and thence attempting to deduce the different properties of things.

Des Cartes despised all knowledge acquirable by the mediation of the senses; for being accustomed to wrap his understanding up entirely in mere intellectual notions, which though seemingly collected are not a whit the more real, he slid on very ingeniously from one mistake to another.

With his pretended homogeneous matter put in motion, and continued so, he undertook to account for the formation of this world, by the energy of two or three mechanical rules. He also pretended to demonstrate, in the most satisfactory manner, why the particles of chyle or

blood derived from our common aliments, must precisely form the texture, the complications and correspondence, &c. observable in the vessels of the human body, rather than those of a tiger, or a fish. In fine, he boasted to have discovered a road, which appeared to him to be the only one that promised to lead infallibly to the true knowledge of medicine.

Our readers may form a judgment of his medical knowledge from the following instances: he mistook a pleurisy (the disease of which he died) for a rheumatism, and thought he might be cured of the fever he felt, by drinking half a glass of brandy: because he had not been let blood during forty years, he obstinately refused the only specific succor for his complaint: he consented at last, but too late, when the delirium was subsided and gone; but even then, although in the full enjoyment of his reason, he applied for an infusion of tobacco in wine, to take inwardly, which determined the doctor who attended, to forsake him: on the ninth day of his fever, which was the day before he died, he desired he might have some parsnips, which he ate by way of precaution, lest his bowels might become too contracted, should he continue to take nothing but broth. This example affords a glaring proof of the wide difference there is between a geometrician and a physician.

Although Des Cartes had applied himself to the study of morality, as much as to that of any other branch of philosophy, yet we have no complete treatise of his remaining upon that subject, for which deficiency these are the rea-

sons assigned in his letter to Mr. Chanut. "The College-Professors," says he to his friend, "being so animated against me, on account of those innocent principles which I had laid down for the better cultivation of natural philosophy, and even exasperated to such a degree, that they cannot find any pretext therein for calumniating me; what a loose would they not give to their invectives, were I to treat of morality? They would be for ever railing at my doctrine, and not let me enjoy any quiet."

"Has not already an uncharitable Jesuit thought he had sufficient ground to accuse me of being a sceptic, because I had refuted the doctrine of scepticism? Has not a minister of the reformed church taken great pains to prove to the world that I am an atheist, though founded upon no other reason but my having proved the existence of a God? What an outcry then would they not raise, were I to undertake examining and appreciating the just value of all things, that ought to be the objects of our desires and fears, or to declare what is the state of the soul after death, or to what a degree we ought to love the goods of this life; and what conduct we ought to follow, in order not to be alarmed at the loss of them?"

"It would be in vain for me to deliver sentiments the most conformable to christianity, or advantageous to government: my pre-determined antagonists, of every denomination, would unite all their efforts to prove I had started arguments contrary to both: wherefore, the best thing I think I can do henceforwards, is to abstain from writing

books: having chosen the following words for my device, or motto, *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi*; (their meaning is, "A disagreeable death awaits that man, who lives too much known to the crowd, but too little to himself") therefore I mean to study now but for my own instruction, and to communicate my thoughts to those, with whom I may safely converse in private."

We may hence infer, that he studied morality with no other view, but that of directing his own particular conduct through life; and to the effects of this application we are perhaps to ascribe the wishes, with which his letters abound, of consecrating his life and learning to live well with the Deity and his neighbour; for which purpose he would divorce himself from every other literary pursuit: it was in his hours employed in the study of morality, that he discovered all the writings of the ancients to be shewy palaces, built upon sandy foundations: he observed too, that the celebrated authors of antiquity raise the human virtues to a very high degree, and labour to render them estimable above every other consideration in this world; but they do not give us sufficient instruction how to come to a knowledge of them: and what they decorate with such dazzling titles, are, in his sense, nothing more, when examined, than the progeny of insensibility, pride, and despair.

It was from the study of morality, that he derived the four maxims quoted above, in the analysis which we have given of his method, and by which he afterwards regulated his con-

duct; having proved before a willing slave to those passions which render mankind vicious: but, through dint of reflexion, he cured himself entirely of the passion for gaming, with which he had been long infected, and of what since appeared to him very criminal, an indifference about the loss of his time.

As to what regards religion, in his greatest dissipation he always preserved some remains of that fund of piety with which the Jesuits of La Fleche had imbibed his mind: he had very early in life comprehended, that whatever is the object of faith cannot be that of reason, and was often heard to declare, that he should always remain very easy about the matter, while Rome and Sorbonne were on his side.

His not being determined, for a long time, on what state of life he should fix, did not influence the particular actions of his life: he lived and acted quite free from any symptom of that turn of uncertainty observable in his judgment on the sciences: he had formed to himself a plain and easy system of morality, agreeable to whose principles he appeared always to incline for embracing the most moderate maxims, and that were the most commonly adopted in the general practice of life; but proved always so reserved in regard to himself, as never to give a preference to his own private opinions, over those of other persons, whom he looked upon to be more experienced, and more knowing, than himself.

He assigned two reasons, for which he bound himself, among many received opinions, to always make a choice of the most moderate;

1. Because they that can be the most commodiously put in practice, are in all likelihood the best, and that all extremes in moral actions are generally vicious. 2. By so doing he should go less out of the right path, in case he should chance to stray, and consequently never be under a necessity of passing from one extremity to another.

He appeared upon all occasions to be so warm and so zealous a friend of liberty, that he could not conceal the dislike and abhorrence which he had for all those engagements, or connexions, that any way tend to deprive, or even to debar mankind from the privilege of indifference in all their actions. He did not however mean thereby to set up his private opinion in opposition to the spirit of those public laws enacted to serve either as a preservative against the inconsistency of weak minds, or to guarantee all securities given in the commerce of life, that allow of vows being made, and contracts signed, to bind the parties to a perseverance in, and a completion of, their enterprize. From a long series of observations, that nothing in this world continueth always in the same state, he was led to cultivate his judgment to such a degree as to deem it criminal in himself to pronounce a thing good, when it had ceased being so; or even to grant it the appearance of being such now, for no other motive, but the frivolous pretext that he might have found it so at another time.

The notion that he adhered to, concerning such actions of his life as he thought could suffer no delay, was, that when he found him-

self unable to discern which of the many offered, or presenting themselves, was the truest opinion, he sided with what seemed to him the most probable. But if it so fell out, that he could not descry more probability in these than in those, he espoused some of them, which he would afterwards consider no longer as doubtful in regard to practice, but as very certain, and very true; because he believed that the reason which had determined him in their behalf was so. By these means he prevented in himself the necessity of repenting, or of suffering from the remorse that is wont to perplex weak and undetermined intellects, that very inconsiderately proceed upon enterprizes, which at first sight they look upon as good, but that upon being more acquainted with they judge to be bad.

He was strongly of the opinion, that we can dispose of nothing absolutely but our thoughts and our desires; wherefore, when he had done all that was in his power for the obtaining of any thing extraneous to himself, he looked upon its acquisition as impossible, when attended with difficulties superior to his force, and therefore determined never to wish for any thing which he thought he had it not in his power to obtain: for, in his judgment, the most practicable method of being happy in this life, is to look upon all those possessions which we have not, to be equally out of our reach.

It must have been from a long practical experience, and often reiterated meditation, that he could accustom himself to look upon all things in this point of view. By having gradu-

ally formed his mind to this way of thinking, he had the advantage of finding himself in a state of philosophical resignation, to calmly suffer all the diseases which flesh is heir to, all the disasters which fortune can heap upon a wretched mortal, or that the Deity might be pleased to try his patience with. According to him, it was in a doctrine similar to this, that consisted the grand secret of the ancient philosophers, who had formerly bid defiance to the power of fortune; and who, notwithstanding the actual pain and poverty which they endured, were hardy enough to dispute about, and put their felicity in parallel with, that of the immortal Gods.

Fraught with such a reconciling disposition for all the vicissitudes and unforeseen events of this world, he lived in all appearance like those persons who, unembarrassed with the duties of any employment, think only of leading a quiet and irreproachable life in the opinion of mankind; who are also careful to hinder their pleasures from degenerating into vices; and who, in order that their time of leisure may never be productive to them of any melancholy symptoms, have occasional recourse to those amusements that are not immoral. Thus by having no singularity in their conduct, that may attract the eyes of others upon, or set people's imagination at work about, what may be their pursuits, no body throws in any obstacle, that may divert them from continuing their particular plans, or of applying themselves constantly to the research after truth.

Notwithstanding Des Cartes' resolution, which we have mentioned above, of never writing upon morality, he could not refuse the princess Elizabeth's entreaty upon that subject; and he judged, that no other work could better answer his purpose of comforting this philosophical princess in her misfortune, than Seneca's *Treatise on a Happy Life*; which he accompanied with several observations, in the double view, 1. of making her to know her errors; and, 2. of teaching his royal pupil to raise her thoughts even above those of the pagan philosophers. But on observing that the determined malignity of fortune daily sharpened its persecution against the unfortunate princess, he persevered to communicate, in his epistolary correspondence to her, the means which philosophy permitteth of being happy and content in this life: he laboured to convince her, that we can find no where in this world, but in ourselves, that natural state of felicity, which uninformed and vulgar minds seek for in vain from the hands of fortune.

Des Cartes' motive for chusing Seneca's *Treatise on a Happy Life* was founded on the great reputation of the author, and without paying any regard to the manner in which he had treated it: but, upon a close examination since, he discovered it was not exact enough to be scrupulously followed; therefore, to enable the princess to form more easily a judgment of the matter, he began by displaying to her the manner, according to him, in which a subject like this ought to have been treated by such a philosopher as Seneca, who had only natural

reason for his guide : he next proceeds to shew how Seneca ought to have communicated to us all the principal truths, whose knowledge is necessary to facilitate for us the practice of virtue, to regulate our desires and passions, and consequently to make us enjoy a state of natural beatitude. Had Seneca's work been executed in this manner, it must, nay, would be esteemed, by all christian readers, the best and most useful treatise that could have been written by a pagan philosopher.

After having pointed out the method according to which Seneca should have conducted his performance, Des Cartes unfolds, in a second letter, how the censured author handles his subject, and with such a clearness and sagacity of mind, as to make us sincerely regret his not having undertaken to rectify, in a like manner, the thoughts of all the ancients. The judicious reflexions which the princess, on her side, made on Seneca's work, encouraged Des Cartes to treat, in the following letters to her, upon other topics, and the most important of the moral system, viz. concerning the sovereign good, the liberty of man, the state of the soul, the use of reason, the use of the passions, the actions that are virtuous and vicious, the use of worldly goods or possessions, and the ills to which human life is exposed.

This correspondence relative to moral philosophy was kept up by the princess after her return from Spain, where it had begun, with unabating ardor, notwithstanding the calamities with which her life was harrassed, and that no other event, except her own, but the death of

so justly admired a philosopher, could have interrupted.

In the year 1641, was published, in Latin, one of Des Cartes' most excellent productions, and that on which he seems to have always set the highest value; namely, his meditations concerning the first philosophy; whose business is to demonstrate the existence of a Deity, and the immateriality of the soul. But our readers will perhaps be surprized when they are informed, that we stand indebted to the conscience of Des Cartes for his having made a present to the public of this very useful work. Had this great philosopher been less zealous in the cause of truth, and if this laudable passion, so rarely to be met with, had not got the better of his pretended reasons for never publishing any more of his writings, we should never have known any thing of his Meditations, more than of his World, his Philosophical Course, his Refutation of Scholastic Errors, and of divers other works condemned by him to never see the light. His book of principles was lucky enough to escape from this general sentence, in which they too had been at first involved: for this reprieve they are indebted to his Metaphysical Meditations, which he had composed during his retreat in Holland.

Since that time he laid them by in his closet, as an unfinished performance, written only for his own particular satisfaction: but coming to reflect afterwards on the difficulties that must occur to many persons of comprehending the few metaphysical passages, that are in the fourth part of his Treatise upon Method, he resolved

to revise that work in order to put it into a condition of being illustrative of that part of his method, to which it might serve as an useful commentary.

He compared what he had done in this affair to the demonstrations of Apollonius, in which there is nothing advanced, but what is very clear and very certain, when each particular point is duly considered : but several of them are rather long, and the reason of the conclusion does not obviously appear, unless all that has preceded be exactly remembered ; and of such a retention it is hard to find one man in a town, or a whole province, that is capable.

In like manner Des Cartes thought that he had completely demonstrated the existence of a Deity, and the immateriality of the human soul ; but because his doctrine depended on arguments arising necessarily one from the other, and that if the least circumstance relating thereto were forgotten, it would be a difficult matter to comprehend the justness of the conclusion, he conceived that his work, however meritorious in itself, could not be productive of much good, unless it were to fall into the hands of some intelligent persons, who would chuse to undertake the trouble to seriously examine his reasons, and, by declaring afterwards ingenuously what they should think of them, would give the tone to those incapable of such an enquiry to go by their judgment, or would at least deter them from being opponents to it.

Father Mersenne, having received this work, which had been so long expected, was resolved to satisfy the expectation of those to whom he

had promised it, by the activity and industry which he exerted for its speedy communication to them. In a short time after, he wrote to Des Cartes, promising to forward to him the objections that had been started by several theologists and philosophers. Des Cartes was by so much the more surprized, as from internal conviction he judged that a much longer time than what had intervened, was necessary for making accurate observations on the contents of his treatise, and what was the most essential part therein.

Father Merfenne, in order to prove to him, that no charge of either precipitancy or negligence could be brought against the examination, which he had caused to be made of the work, informed him, that among other remarks this capital one was much insisted on, viz. That in a treatise written expressly to prove the immateriality of the soul, not a word was found of its immortality. Des Cartes immediately answered, that there was no room to be surprized thereat, because it was not in his power to demonstrate that the Deity cannot destroy the soul of man; all that he could demonstrate, was that its nature is distinct from that of the body; that consequently it is not necessitated to perish along with it; that he thought nothing more ought to be required for the establishing of religion, and that was the extent of what he had proposed to himself to prove.

But to undeceive those who might think otherwise of him, he changed the general title of the chapter, or rather of his second meditation *De mente humana*, "of the human mind."

to a more precise one, *De natura mentis humanæ, quod ipsa sit potior quam corpus*; “on the nature of the human mind, which is superior to that of the body.” This alteration superseded all expectation of his intending to demonstrate the soul’s immortality.

Eight days afterwards, Des Cartes sent to father Mersenne an abridgment of the principal points relating to the Deity, and the soul, to serve as an argument to the entire work. He consented to his getting it printed by way of a summary to be prefixed to the treatise; that those desirous of finding together, what they wanted to know of the matter, might have an abridged view of all that the work contained, and which he thought proper to divide into six meditations.

In the first, he lays down the reasons why we may entertain a general doubt of all things, and particularly of material substances, until such time as mankind shall have better foundations to fix the sciences upon, than those which they have hitherto been weakly supported by. He proves farther, that the utility which must accrue from this general doubt, is to free the mind of man from every kind of prejudice, to detach it from all influence of the senses, and to put it out of our power to doubt of what we have once known to be true.

In his second, he shews, that when the mind makes a proper use of its liberty, if the things which it supposes to be, imply the least doubt of their existence, they really are not; yet thereby its own is proved: by which means it is enabled to distinguish the things belonging to

itself, from those that belong to the body. This seems to have been the proper place for him to prove the soul's immortality: but, according to his declaration to father Mersenne, he contented himself, in this second meditation, with making the soul to be conceived without a body, but did not undertake to prove, that it is an essence distinct from the body, because he had not laid down the premises necessary for the deducing of such a conclusion: the mentioning of which he deferred to his sixth meditation. Thus did this famous philosopher proceed, by avoiding to advance any thing in his treatise, of which he could not give accurate demonstration, still obliging himself to follow the order that is practised by geometricians, which is previously to produce all the principles, upon which the proposition under enquiry depends, before any conclusion can be formed.

The first and chief thing, according to him, necessary for attaining a knowledge of the soul's immortality, is to have a very clear and very distinct idea or conception of it, and totally unconnected with, and different from, any of the conceptions which the mind may have of the body. He recommends also to never forget, that whatever is clearly and distinctly conceived, is true in the same manner as we conceive it: the illustrating of this maxim he puts off to his fourth meditation.

We are now to infer from what he has laid down, that the things which we conceive distinctly and clearly to be different substances, as for example, the soul and the body, are in

truth substances really different one from the other; and this is what he concludes in his sixth meditation. But let us now return to follow the order of his meditations, and the matter they contain.

In the third, he amply developes the principal argument he employs to prove the existence of a God; but his not having thought it proper to make use of any comparison taken from corporeal substances, in order to abstract the reader's mind from all agency of, and commerce with, the senses, he unavoidably fell into some obscurities of expression, which are cleared up in his reply to the first objections that had been made against his book, in Flanders, and which were sent by him to father Mersenne, in Paris, to be there printed along with his work.

In the fourth, he proves that all things which we conceive very clearly, and very distinctly, are true: he therefore explains in what consists the nature of error and falsehood; by which he means not the sin, or error, that is committed in the pursuit of good and evil; but only the error that is made in judging of, and discerning truth from falsehood.

In the fifth, he explains what corporeal nature in general is; and he there produces a new argument for demonstrating the existence of God: he moreover establishes for a truth, that the very certainty of geometrical demonstrations is connected with, and leads to the knowledge of a God.

In the sixth, he distinguishes the active power

of the understanding from that of the imagination, and assigns the discriminating marks thereof: he there proves that the soul of man is really distinct from the body: he enumerates the errors that are caused by the senses, and points out the means of shunning them. In fine, he brings together all the reasons assignable for establishing the existence of material substances, not because he judged them necessary for proving that there is a world, that men have bodies, and other articles, of which no rational body ever harboured a doubt; but that, by considering them more minutely, we should be led to a conviction of their not being so cogently evident, as the arguments that conduct us to a knowledge of God, and of our souls existence.

Here ends the abridgment of Des Cartes' Meditations, upon which he always set a higher value than upon any other of his works: sometimes he is said to offer up pious thanks to the Almighty, for having finished that work, containing his discovery of the process by which metaphysical truths can be demonstrated: at other times, he would indulge himself in the pleasure of communicating to his friends the very high opinion which he entertained of that work. "Be assured," writes he to father Merfenne, "that there is nothing in my metaphysical performance, which I do not believe to be very easily made known, and demonstrable to common sense alone, without the necessity of any inspiration from above; nay, sir, I take upon me to render it intelligible to all per-

sons, that are inclined to, and capable of, meditating, &c."

This work may indeed be allowed to contain the essence of his doctrine, and is the perfect model of his method: the eulogiums which he was wont to give it, among his intimates, were pushed sometimes rather too far; such as, for instance, that it contained many important truths, which had not been searched after, or discovered, by any person before him; and being unknown, could not open the way to true philosophy, whose chief aim is to convince us, that there is a difference between the mind and the body; which he asserts to have established in his meditations, by an analysis, that not only teaches us this difference, but shews us also the paths which he pursued in making so great a discovery.

Des Cartes, in his treatise on Light, carries away his readers with him out of this world into imaginary space; and there he supposes, that in order to communicate to philosophic candidates a knowledge of the formation of this universe, Omnipotence indulges their curiosity with the view of a creation; for which purpose he contrives an infinite number of small parcels of matter, of equal hardness, of shape either cubical or triangular, or only irregular and uneven, or, finally, of all sorts of figures, but so closely applied to, and as it were compacted with, one another, as not to allow of the least interstitial void. This supposition being granted, he takes upon him to assert, that the Supreme Being, who has created

them in imaginary space, cannot permit the least vacuity to be found among them, and that it would even exceed the Deity's power, because contradictory to it, to effectuate such a void.

The next scene of this creative spectacle, is the Deity's putting all those little parcels of matter in motion, which, for the most part, he makes to turn round their own centre, and causes them moreover to advance in a direct line.

This great artificer commands every parcel to retain the same condition of its figure, size, celerity, or rest, until they shall be necessitated to change it, either by resistance or fracture.

He commands them to share their motion with those parcels which they shall meet, and to receive from the others a share of their motion. Here Des Cartes enters into a detail of the laws of motion, and these communications thereon dependent; all which he unfolds in the best manner he can.

The Deity's last command to them, is to continue the progressive motion that has been communicated to them, in a straight line as long as they can.

These premises now supposed, the Supreme Being, according to Des Cartes, preserves what he has created, but does nothing more. Then this chaös, wonderful effect of divine operation! tends to have all its parts suitably arranged through the compulsive energy of the laws of motion, and to become in consequence a world like ours; a world, in which, although the Deity has placed neither order nor proportion, are

to be seen all those things, the general as well as the particular, that appear in the true world. These are the author's own words; and cannot be too seriously attended to.

From these primordial parcels, unequally moved, the common matter, out of which all things are made, and that are absolutely indifferent about their becoming one thing or another, Des Cartes at first discovers three elements to arise; and out of these three elements, all the various substances existing in the world, by the progressive effects of the corners, angles, and extremities, of those parcels being unequally broken off through the power of friction. The finest parts become a subtle matter, which he calls *the first element*; the bodies worn as it were, and rounded by the force of friction, are his *second element*, or *the light*; but the more gross, heavy, and larger broken pieces, that have the greater number of angles, are his *third element*, or the *terrestrial and planetary* substance.

All the elements being put in motion, and becoming obstacles to each other, they are under a reciprocal necessity of advancing not in a straight, but in a circular line, and to move vorticularly, or, as the French term it, in *tourbillons*, some round one common centre, some round another: so that, by thus continuing to preserve their tendency to go off in a right line, they make repeated efforts every moment to get to a farther distance from the centre, which Des Cartes compliments with the name of *centrifugal force*.

All the elements endeavouring to be still farther removed from the centre, the most massive amongst them get to the greatest distance; consequently the globulous matter is farther from the centre, than the subtle matter; and inasmuch as there must be a plenitude every where, the subtle matter insinuates itself partly into the interstitial voids, among the globules of light, and partly towards the centre of the tourbillon, or vortex: this part of the subtle matter, that is, of the finest powder, which has placed itself near the centre, is what Des Cartes called a *sun*: there are like quantities of this powder in other tourbillons as in this, and are so many *suns*, which we call stars, and whose lustre is but little in regard to us, on account of the amazing distance where they are situated.

The globulous element being composed of unequal globules, the weightiest move the farthest from the centre, and towards the extremities of each tourbillon; while the weakest, or lightest, remain nearer to the sun. The action of the fine powder, or the subtle matter, that gives existence to the sun, communicates its agitation to the neighbouring globules, in which Des Cartes makes light to consist: this agitation, being communicated to the globulous matter, accelerates the motion of the latter; but this acceleration diminishes in proportion to the distance, and is finally spent at a certain degree thereof.

We can, according to our philosopher, divide light into several ranges, to this ultimate de-

gree; and its velocity diminishes at every range; after which the globulous matter, that fills up the remainder of the solar tourbillon, receives no more acceleration from the sun; and as this vast remainder of globulous matter consists of the most forceful and the grossest globules, the activity therein excited continues to increase from the terminating degree, whereat the acceleration caused by the sun expires, until it meet with the adjoining tourbillons.

If any massive bodies fall into the globulous element, in the space between the sun and the terminating degree where its action expires, such substances will be moved with a greater degree of velocity while near the sun, and with a less in proportion to the distance at which they remove from it: but if any massive bodies are drawn into the remainder of the globulous matter between that discriminating degree where the solar action ceases, and the point of meeting with the neighbouring tourbillons, they will move with a still growing acceleration, till they are plunged into the neighbouring tourbillons and other massive bodies, being hurried in a like manner from the neighbouring tourbillons into the globulous element of ours, may therein descend or rise towards the sun, according to the prevalency of the impelling force by which they are actuated.

We are also to learn that there are little tourbillons of matter, that can be moved within the great ones; and that the former may be composed not only of a globulous matter, and a fine powder, that, centrally ranged, form so many little suns; that moreover may be pos-

ossed of, or meet with, many parcels of the gross powder, as well as with large shivers of those broken angles which we have, after Des Cartes, called the *third element*. But these little tourbillons never fail to drive towards their borders all such gross powder, or shivers, that are within their sway; which signifies no more, if our readers should like the image better, than that the gross powder and larger broken angular fritters, by bundling themselves up together as it were into a coarse aggregated substance, always tend to the borders or extremities of the little tourbillon, by the superiority of their centrifugal force. There Des Cartes makes them stop; which device, indeed, is very commodious for his system; for by not suffering them to run off any farther through means of the centrifugal force, or to be hurried forwards through the impulsive energy of the matter of the grand tourbillon, their combination renders dim and obscure the sun of the little one; nay, they encrust over by degrees the little tourbillon or vortex, and by a repeated accession of thickening crust upon all its exterior surface, an opacous body is formed, to be either a planet, or an habitable earth.

Wherefore it follows, that as the special collections of the fine powder become so many suns, so those of the coarse are to be planets, comets, &c.

These planets, being set a-drift in the first half or division of the globulous matter, roll on with a decreasing velocity from the first of them, which is called *Mercury*, to the last, entitled *Saturn*. The opacous bodies, that are

launched into the second half or division, bear away to the neighbouring tourbillons, while other substances of the same kind shoot from the latter into ours, and steer away directly towards the sun.

The same coarse or massive powder that has furnished us with an earth, with planets, &c. does arrange and mould itself, obediently to the all-disposing power of motion, into other forms, and supplies us with water, with an atmosphere, with air, with metals, precious stones, animals, and plants; in a word, with all things, the general, the particular, the organical, and the not so, which we behold in this world.

There are several other parts of Des Cartes' philosophical fabric, about which we shall enter into no enquiry here; because these we have seen already are sufficient to prove its incongruity with the principles of reason; and to the intellectual eye of mere common sense such a system must for ever appear to be totally inadmissible.

1. It is very extraordinary to hear Des Cartes declare, that the Deity cannot create, and approximate one to the other, certain angular bodies, without having wherewithal to fill up exactly the interstitial voids among those angles. How presumptuous is it in a mortal to set limits to Omnipotence!

2. But granting even that he could know precisely the reason why the Deity is so averse from permitting a vacuity, and that he could reconcile the freedom necessary for motion with an absolute plenitude in space, (which latter's being unavoidable he could even demon-

strate) the point where we mean to stop him, is when he declares that a *vacuum* is impossible in nature: which appears not strictly true according to his own supposition; for to fill up those interstitial voids, which he mentions, his imaginary powders must have been readily prepared, and in every possible shape for their commodiously sliding into those open intervals. But unluckily a certain length of time was necessary for making those powders. The globules could not have been all rounded in one and the same instant of time: the larger corners were the first broken, and after them the smaller.

Thus by the force of friction we may collect from our pulverised parcels of matter a sufficiency to fill up what intervals we please. But then this pulverisation is not co-instantaneously, but successively made; because at the first moment of the Deity's putting those parcels of primordial matter into movement, the powder was not formed. The Deity having made angles to project from these parcels, away they set to skirmishing immediately to break each other off; yet, before these fractures could have been effected, behold there had been among the angles interstitial voids without end, and no matter was provided to fill them up.

3. According to Des Cartes' doctrine, light is a mass of little globes that immediately touch each other, so that a suite of these globes cannot be touched at one end without the impression being felt at the other in the same instant, as it happens to a stick, or a suite of cannon-balls,

Messieurs Roemer and Picard have observed, that when the earth is between the sun and Jupiter, the eclipses of the latter's satellites happen earlier than they are marked in astronomical tables; but that when the earth is on the opposite side, and the sun between Jupiter and it, then the eclipses of the same satellites happen several minutes later, because then the light has the grand annual orb of the earth to traverse in this situation, which it had not in the others. This observation hath enabled them to affirm, that the light of the sun is no longer than between seven and eight minutes in darting through the three and thirty millions of leagues from it to the earth. However certain or disputable this assertion may be, relative to the light's velocity in passing through such an immensity of space, it is unquestionable that this communication is not made in an instant; but that its progressive motion, or advancing pressure, reacheth sooner the bodies that are near the sun, and later those that are far from it; whereas a close ranged series of twelve, or of an hundred globes, communicate the motion impressed thereon co-instantaneously; and therefore the light of Des Cartes is not the light of the world.

And now what we have said must appear sufficient to expose the inconveniencies to which that great man's system is liable. We may, however, with the ingenious Fontenelle, congratulate the age, which, by producing Des Cartes, gave a fashionable vogue and reputation to a new manner of reasoning, that has since communicated all the scrupulous exactness of geometry to the other sciences. According to

his very judicious remark, we must all be convinced of the danger attendant on giving precipitately into systems newly hatched, which the human mind, through a prevailing dislike for laborious researches, loves to pillow itself upon; because a doctrine of that sort being once established, proves a formidable antagonist to all the attacks of truth, to overturn its illegal and usurped authority.

To the above-mentioned remark he adds a very salutary advice, which is, in imitation of the many celebrated academies now flourishing in Europe, to begin by collecting materials, which in due time are to be connected into a system, instead of undertaking by some laws of mechanism to explain, in an unintelligible manner, Nature, and her amazing variety.

We know very well, that in the behalf of Des Cartes' system, some have alledged the experience of those general laws by which the Deity preserves the universe. The preservation of all beings, say they, is a continued creation; and as we conceive that preservation to be effected by general laws, may we not be allowed to have recourse to them for the better conceiving, in the form of a simple hypothesis, the miracle of creation and all its wonderful consequences?

Reasoning like this, is not less absurd than that which would insinuate, that the same mechanical agency, which with the aid of water, hay, and oats, can nourish a horse, can with them also make a stomach, and even the horse itself. It is true, indeed, that if we carefully attend to the Deity's manner of governing the world, we shall therein observe a sublime uniformity.

But then sage experience dictates to us not to multiply the modes of willing to the Deity, to make them tally with the various rencounters of bodies: for with one only act of volition he has regulated for all cases, in all ages, the movement and collision of bodies according to their respective masses, velocity, and elasticity: and the laws observed in these relations are, no doubt, a proper study for rational physics, because they can be rendered of great utility, when human prudence employs their exertion only in those operations that are submitted to its direction; as well as in executing several kinds of workmanship, of which man is acknowledged to be the subaltern creator.

But that our meaning may not be misinterpreted, we think it not improper to observe, that to create bodies, and to assign to them their proper places and functions, is one thing; but to preserve them therein, is another. There needs but an act of volition, or faithful execution of the general laws, to preserve every species in its special form, and to perpetuate the necessary vicissitudes in the well-digested œconomy of the whole when once matter has been created. But when the business is to create, to regulate those special forms, to render the continuation of them certain and always the same, to establish a relationship between particulars, and an universal correspondence among the whole; then it would be necessary for the Deity to have as many plans, and special volitions, as there are different pieces, of which the great machine is composed.

Des Cartes wrote a short essay on the Passions, in the year 1646, for the particular use of the princess Elizabeth. He sent it in manuscript to the queen of Sweden, towards the end of the year 1647. In compliance with the reiterated application made to him since by many of his friends, to let the public have a participation of so valuable a performance, he revised it in order to correct whatever faults the philosophical princess had remarked therein; then submitted it in this corrected state to Mr. Clerfelier, who judged its doctrine to be too much above the general run of understandings; and that gentleman's opinion determined the author to throw in some additional and elucidating matter to render it comprehensible to all capacities. In Mr. Clerfelier's advice he thought he heard that of the public, and the additions which he made in consequence, increased it a third part more in size.

He divided the work into three parts: in the first he treats of the passions in general, and occasionally of the nature of the soul, &c. in the second, he treats of the primitive passions; and in the third, of all the other. The many additions this author made in deference to Mr. Clerfelier's advice, may perhaps have rendered his work more easy and more perspicuous than it had been before; but they have not deprived it of that chaste conciseness, and elegant simplicity of style, for which this writer's productions are so remarkable.

It is not as an orator, or even as a moral philosopher, but as a physician, that he treated his subject, and acquitted himself in a manner so

entirely new, that his work was universally preferred to any thing that had appeared upon the subject before the publication of his treatise.

In order to accurately deduce the passions, and to develop the different motions of, the blood that are annexed to each passion, he found it necessary to say something of the animal's structure, and therefore preluded by unfolding the entire composition of the human frame. He explains how all the movements of our members, independent of the thinking faculty, may be performed without the soul's contributing thereto, by the mere power of the animal spirits and the disposition of our limbs, without the soul's contributing thereto. He makes us at first to consider our body as a machine contrived by the hand of the ablest of all artificers, and whose various movements are like to those of a watch, or any other kind of automaton, where they are effectuated by the combined efforts of the different springs, and of the figure, as well as of the particular disposition of the wheels.

Having sufficiently displayed all that was necessary to be shewn concerning the body, he leads us to this obvious conclusion, that there is nothing in us specially appertaining to the soul but our thoughts, of which the passions are those that agitate it the most; and that one of the principal duties of philosophy is to teach us to attain a just knowledge of our passions, in order to moderate them and become their masters. Candour must own, that this treatise of Des Cartes is one of the most beautiful, as well the most useful of his works.

Never did any philosopher behave more respectfully in regard to the Deity than Des Cartes was wont to deport himself. He was always very reserved in his discourses concerning religion. He never spake of the Deity but with the greatest circumspection, always with much discretion and good sense, accompanied with a noble and elevated manner in his expression. He was continually on his guard, lest he should let any thing escape, either in his writing or speaking, that might be thought derogatory from the respect due to religion. His delicacy in that article was extreme.

His pious indignation was always excited, on hearing the presumptuous rashness of some theologists, who had forsaken their guides the scripture, and the fathers, to stray into paths of which they were entirely ignorant: he blamed very much the arrogance of certain philosophers and mathematicians, who affected to be so peremptorily decisive in asserting, what the Deity can and cannot do. "Is it not monstrous," says he, "to speak thus of the Christian God, as if they were talking of a Jupiter, or a Saturn, and subjecting him to a Styx, and to destiny, which is the case, when they mention truths that are independent of him?"

"Mathematical truths are laws which the Deity hath established in nature, as a king institutes laws in his kingdom; there are none of those laws which we may not comprehend: but we cannot comprehend the greatness of God, although we know him."

"For my part," says he in another place,

it appears but reasonable, that we should never dare to assert that any thing is impossible to God; because all that is true, is good, and therefore entirely dependent on his power: wherefore it is a wanton impertinence to say, he cannot make a hill without a valley, or prevent one and two from making the number three. All that I can, and ought to say upon such occasions is, that the Deity has given me a mind, whose nature is so disposed, as that it cannot conceive a hill without a valley, nor prevent its believing, that the aggregate of one and two make the number of three."

This reservedness of Des Cartes, carried perhaps too far, shocked some people so much, as to induce them to accuse him of a kind of criminality, for occasionally avoiding to employ the term God, and substitute the word Angel in its place, which he did through a zealous respect for the Deity: yet one Beceman conceived the strange and absurd notion of Des Cartes meaning thereby to compare himself to the angels, through an unpardonable excess of vanity.

To a charge of so extraordinary a complexion Des Cartes thought proper to reply, and in the following manner: "The reproach you have started against me of having equalled, or put myself in comparison with angels, is so extravagant, that no person, but one of an insane mind, could, I think, have uttered such a ridiculous falsehood, which I hope however is not your case, and judge that this accusation proceeds from some latent malevolence: if so, I forgive you: but hence, no doubt, you have

drawn the occasion of this chimerical imputation; because that, in opposition to the common usage of not only philosophers, but even of theologists also, who at every time that they want to prove it to be absolutely repugnant to reason, that such a thing should be done, are accustomed to say, It is what God himself cannot do, I, who had been always hurt by such presumptuous expressions, have, through a sense of pure humility, as often as the occasion presented itself, of saying, like others, God cannot do such a thing! been satisfied with saying, An angel could not do such a thing. It is therefore very disagreeable to me to have incurred this impeachment; and I solemnly aver, that the expression I used was owing to the dictates of modesty."

He was so thoroughly satisfied in regard to the evidence of his demonstration of the existence of a God, as not to hesitate preferring it to any that is given for mathematical truths. Yet the minister Voetius, his determined enemy, instead of censuring our philosopher for having but badly refuted atheism, accuses Des Cartes of being himself an atheist, although without being able to cite any other proof than that of his having written against atheists. What a new-fangled and absurd way of proceeding! But that it might appear to be less so, Voetius fancied, that the example of Vanini would aptly serve his purpose, by proving through him that Des Cartes was not the first atheist who had written in appearance against atheism; for that Vanini had done the same.

Provoked by such impertinence and malice, Des Cartes could not refrain from answering the wicked forger of so ridiculous a calumny, in a Latin letter which he wrote to him. The scandalous report was, however, zealously propagated by several other mistakenly pious enemies; to which they added the reproach of his abetting the most unaccountable notions of scepticism: yet they had not a firmer basis to found their accumulated lies upon than idly saying, forsooth, that Des Cartes seemed to them as it were to insinuate, "that we ought to deny, at least for some time, that there is a God; that God might deceive; that we ought to call every thing into doubt; that we should have no faith in our senses, and that sleeping and waking could not be distinguished."

Des Cartes was very much stung by such unmerited accusations, and gave vent to his irritated feeling in an answer to this purpose: "I have expressly refuted, and in the most evident manner, all those articles for which I am reproached by calumniating ignorance; nay, I have even defeated them with the strongest arguments, much stronger than any that had ever been employed before me; and in order to do it more commodiously, as well as more efficaciously, I proposed all those articles, as things merely doubtful, at the beginning of my meditations. I am not the first man who either invented or started them. Have they not for a long series of time, and frequently, been proposed by the advocates of scepticism? Can any proceeding be more unjust, than that of ascribing to an author those very opinions, which he proposes only for the better refuting of them? Is it not the

height of impudence to falsely hint, that they are proposed indeed, but not refuted; and that consequently he who alledges the arguments of atheism, is himself an atheist for some time? Can any thing be more puerile than to say, that if such a person should die without having made out, or written, the demonstration which he had hoped for, he expires an atheist? Some may yet object to me perhaps, that I have not mentioned those false opinions as coming from any body else, but as from myself: and what then, since in the very book where they are quoted I have refuted them?

All persons endowed with a candid mind and an honest heart, have, from reading the meditations and principles of Des Cartes, always derived consequences quite contrary to those calumnious charges brought against him. His works have not to this day perverted any person to become an atheist, who had believed in the existence of a God before. Nay, on the contrary, they have made converts of some atheists. A shining evidence of this truth was Beck, a Swedish painter, who publicly declared, at the French ambassador's hôtel in Stockholm, their having had that effect upon him.

This great man has had illustrious disciples, at the head of whom Malbranche may be placed, who has not however followed him in every thing. The next in rank were Rohaut, Regis, &c. whose works are now existing. The new explanation of the motion of the planets, by Mr. Villemot, a rector at Lyons, printed in the year 1707, is the first, and perhaps the most masterly performance that has been written in defence of the tourbillons, or vorticular system.

The philosophy of Des Cartes encountered with great difficulties before it could be admitted in France. The parliament was about publishing an edict against it, which they were humerously diverted from, by the appearance in print of a burlesque request in favour of Aristotle, written by, and that may now be seen in the works of Boileau. That ingenious author, under the pretext of undertaking a defence of the peripatetic philosophy, turns it into ridicule, so true is Horace's *ridiculum acri*, &c.

In fine, the Cartesian system of physics was universally received and approved till Newton's arose, and shewed the inanity of it, which continued however in the adoption of our universities for a considerable time; till, losing ground by degrees, at last some declared partizans of Newtonianism appeared in France; and this philosophic invasion (to the great alarm of weak and partial minds, who looked upon it as an evil) has made a surprisingly rapid progress, insomuch that our scientific academists are now all Newtonians; and professors of the several universities fear not to teach publicly in their schools the English philosophy.

Whatever conclusive judgment may be formed of Des Cartes's System of Physics, we cannot help looking upon this great man as a sublime genius, and a philosopher who reasoned very consequently; much more so than most of his followers, who have adopted some of his opinions, and admitted others without properly attending to the close connection subsisting among all those of Des Cartes.

A modern philosopher, and a man of shining wit, as well as an elegant writer, namely, Abbé

de Gamaches, a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, has demonstrated, at the beginning of his Physical Astronomy, that for a Cartesian reasoner there is no need of any absolute motion; and it is a necessary consequence of Des Cartes's opinion, that extent and matter are one and the same thing: yet most Cartesians believe in an absolute motion, by confounding extent with matter.

His opinion concerning the mechanism of animals is very favourable to the doctrine of the spirituality and immortality of the soul; and those who relinquish him in this article, ought at least to own that the difficulties which may be started against the souls of animals, if not irresolvable, are very perplexing to a Christian philosopher. The same remark may be made upon several other articles in Des Cartes's philosophy. The structure of it is vast, noble, and extensive. It is a pity that the age in which he lived could not have furnished him with better materials than those he found. We ought always, according to Fontenelle, to admire Des Cartes, and sometimes follow him.

The persecutions which this philosopher underwent for having declared war against prejudice and ignorance, ought to supply a consolation to those who, from having been animated with a similar courage, may be exposed to a like series of adverse fortune. Des Cartes is now honoured in his own country, where perhaps he might have led a more wretched life than he did in Holland.

F I N I S.

